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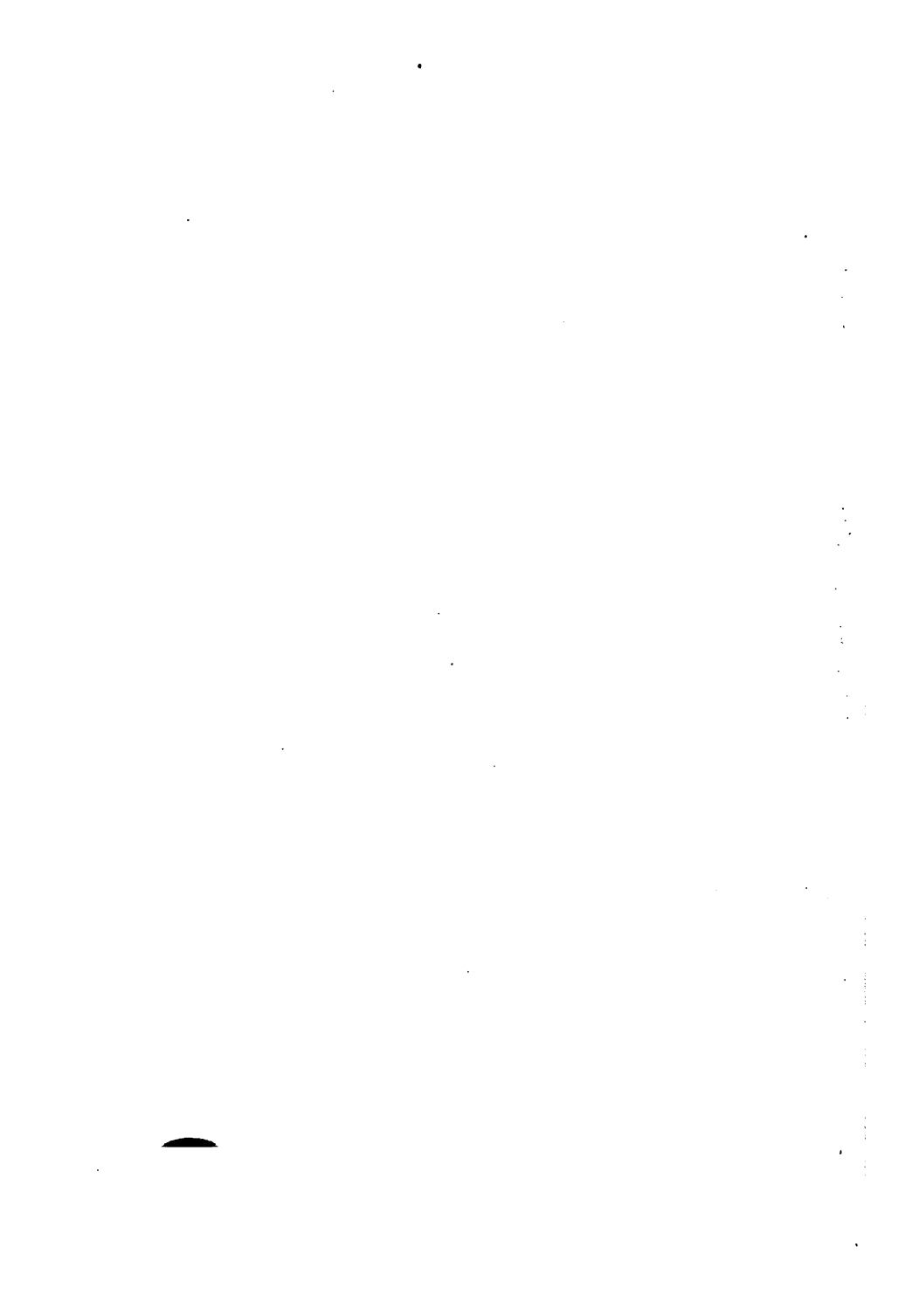


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The Last War

*A Study of Things Present
and Things to Come*

By
FREDERICK LYNCH, D.D.

*Secretary Church Peace Union
(Founded by Andrew Carnegie)*



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PREFACE

THESE chapters are an endeavor to answer many questions that have come to my study from all over the nation. This accounts for the personal element in them. It seemed better not to change this. Indeed, I am sending the book out as a personal letter to my fellow ministers, hoping that the reading of these pages may help them as the writing of them has helped me. For, with every day the conviction has grown upon me that there is not much hope for Christ's gospel of universal love in the world if what is happening in Europe is to happen often. Even as I write these words my eyes rest upon a newspaper headline to the effect that the school children of one of the nations are all to be taught a certain "Hymn of Hate." Those who have seen that awful production will realize what that means.

It surely is the duty of the Church to stop this thing forever. It is because I believe with all my heart that it can be stopped even easily when the Church cares to speak, that I have faith and courage. Perhaps this breakdown of

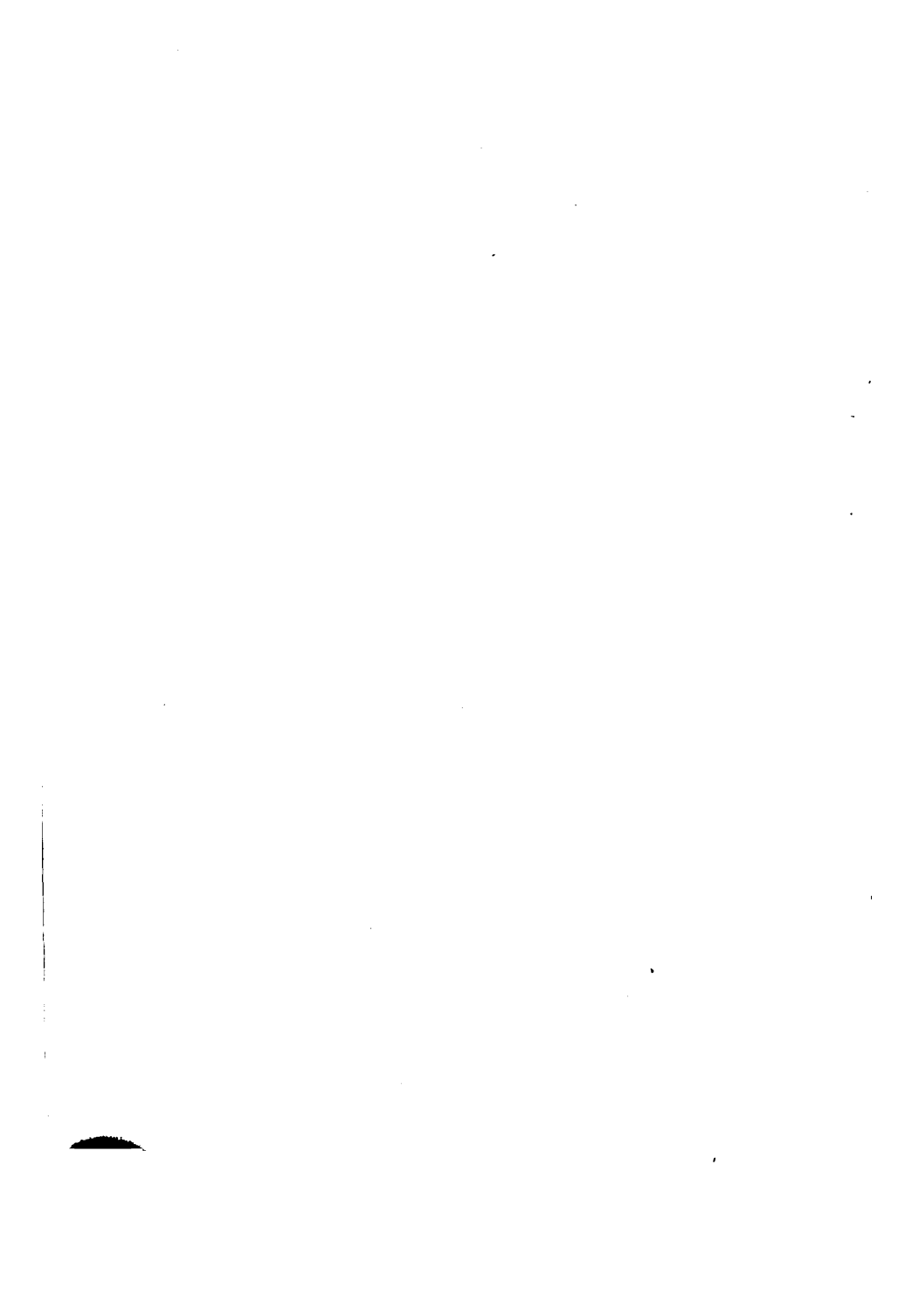
the world will so stir the Church that it will speak. When the Church will everywhere say with authority: "The nations must live under the same ethics that govern individual relationship," the task is accomplished. Already Christians have left behind them the doctrine of *rights*, with its concomitant functions of killing and stealing, and have risen to live by a doctrine of *duty*. The twentieth century Christian is the man who is thinking of his duties to the world, not the securing of his own rights. He has no more thought of rights than had Jesus. Jesus never knew the word.

Even where a man could not reach that ideal stage where he could forget his own rights, he would not insist upon rights, or reparation, or avenging of his honor when it cost the pain or life of others. He would put the community rights above his own. Must not the nations come to this same high level? Has one nation the right to plunge all Europe into hell, even to secure rights or to avenge insults? This is the great issue now before the world and to this issue the Church might well address itself in the face of this awful war. The nation which wages war against another nation to-day, wages war against all humanity.

F. L.

CONTENTS

I.	THE LAST WAR	9
II.	A CONFESSION OF FAITH	20
III.	A CONFESSION OF FAITH (Contd.)	31
IV.	THE CHRISTIAN AND THE WORLD'S SORROW	37
V.	AN APPEAL FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE	45
VI.	THE MISCHIEVOUS DOCTRINE OF RIGHTS	55
VII.	THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE: A PROPHECY	61
VIII.	THE TERMS OF PEACE	73
IX.	THE WAR AND AGNOSTICISM	80
X.	THE WAR AND OUR HOME DUTIES	88
XI.	"CHOOSE YE THIS DAY WHOM THOU WILT SERVE"	96
XII.	SHALL AMERICA PATTERN AFTER EUROPE?	105



I

A COUNTRY-WIDE SLOGAN

THE Last War! Why not make these three words a slogan for the year 1915? Every student of psychology knows the power of a word when it is on everybody's lips, in everybody's ears, before everybody's eyes. The whole world, as never before in history, is sick of war. Its futility as well as its wickedness is coming home to all. Everyone is asking: "Is there not some other way? Cannot this be the last war?" The way to make it the last war is to decide here and now that it shall be the last war, and one of the best ways to hasten this decision is to make it an obsession in each and every mind.

I should like to see the words, "The Last War," printed on the front page of every magazine, periodical, journal, and daily paper in big type, every month, week, and day of 1915. I should like to see the words on every billboard and in the advertising space of every street car. I should like to see every man and woman in the world wearing a button with

"The Last War" printed in striking type. I should like to see it over the door or on the walls of every school and church. I wish every minister and teacher would refer to it in every sermon and address. I wish that every editor would make it the recurring theme of his editorials. I should like to have every parent speak these words daily before his children. I wish all the organizations, the Young Men's Christian Associations, the young people's societies in the churches—the Boy Scouts, all of them would make it their motto, their password, their slogan for 1915. I wish that over every city it might shine in electric words, to be read nightly by all the people.

I have written the above paragraph seriously and mean every word of it. I think the time has come to stop forever the sort of thing that is now occurring in Europe. I believe that now is the time to make that decision. I think that just now nothing in the world matters so much. I should like to see every mind so concerned with it that when the fierce orgy is over there will be but one mind in Europe and America, and that mind "The Last War."

And I wish this not only for the sake of saving the future world, our children, and our children's children from the suffering, the anguish, the poverty and the burdens that war

brings, but also for the sake of saving religion and civilization itself. It is all very well for the ministers and churchmen to say that Christianity has not failed and civilization has not collapsed. But the point is that a great and growing number, and that number comprising many thoughtful people, believe that both have failed. One has only to read the press of Europe and America to see a general agnosticism reflected on every page. One of the great New York dailies, "The Evening Sun," has been devoting a page to letters from its readers which has been freely used. Every minister of the Gospel should occasionally read it, for if these letters reflect a large group, they should make him think very seriously about the future of Christianity. And they undoubtedly do reflect not only a large but a thinking group. It surely means something when so sane and sagacious a thinker as ex-President Eliot of Harvard writes such words as these:

"For nineteen hundred years the ethics of Jesus of Nazareth have been in the world, but have had no effect to prevent or even reduce the evils of war, the greatest of the evils which afflict mankind. The ethical doctrines of Christianity in regard to justice, humility and mercy have not found expression in the relations between Christian nations, whether in peace or

at war, or indeed in the history of institutional Christianity itself. At this moment none of the Christian churches has had any influence to prevent the catastrophe which has overtaken Europe. They are all alike in this respect—Greek, Roman, Lutheran and Anglican. Each national church supports the national government, and every ruler is as sure of his God's approval as ever Israel was of Jehovah's; and within each nation all the religions represented—Hebrew, Catholic, Protestant and Moham-medan—unite in the support of the national government gone to war. So far as the advent of universal peace is concerned, one form of Christianity is as good as another; and all are helpless."

If he stood alone it would be different, but he represents a great number, as the widespread evidence shows. Only the other day a great man said, "Christianity cannot stand this sort of thing many times more." As I sat down to write these words I casually opened a copy of one of the most widely circulated weeklies in America, and the first words that met my eyes were these: "This war has stunned a good many people. They think it not a Christian exercise, and they ask themselves what Christianity has been about—what good it is if such a war can tear up the most Christianized

continent on the globe." The tenor of one of the letters, which I received from Europe the other day, was to the effect that a great doubt as to the power of the Church and organized Christianity to save the world was spreading through many minds. Some very prominent men are becoming fatalists and losing their faith in humanity, believing that it has reached a stage where at any real provocation or temptation it will relapse at any moment into beasthood. Of course, it has become common knowledge that the Chinese and Japanese press are commenting on the failure of Christianity to produce a civilization.

pessimistic
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I have not put the case here even as strongly as the facts warrant me in doing. Mr. Wells has stated them with ten times more emphasis in a recent article in "The Saturday Review." I myself do not feel so pessimistic as do thousands about me. I do not believe that Christianity has failed. It has not been tried. I am not sure that one of the results of this war may not be to encourage the nations to try it. I believe that when the nations and the Church become really Christian there will not be any more war among Christians, at least. But that does not alter the fact that this war has tried the faith of the world nearly to the breaking point, and I am inclined to agree

with the man who said: "Christianity cannot stand this sort of thing many more times."

It is because of this that I want this to be "the last war." I want Christianity saved because I do not believe there is any ultimate hope of the world without it. For this reason, then, as well as for saving the world another such horrible spectacle as Belgium, as well as for saving the world the anguish and tears of the widows and orphans of all Europe, as well as for saving the world the illimitable, unspeakable hatred and bitterness this war is generating, I want everyone to think, speak, write, publish, "The Last War" night and day.

Here is the great opportunity for the Church. During the last six months I have been receiving scores of letters from ministers asking what they and their churches, the Church at large, can do in these terrible times. Their conscience smites them that they are not doing or saying something, but they do not know what to do or say. Perhaps there is not much the minister or the Church can do at just this time, except prepare themselves to act immediately upon the cessation of the war to secure lasting and permanent peace. To suggest to the warring nations at this moment that they cease their strife seems to irritate them and spur them to

new fury. The clergy in some nations have become so infuriated that they resent with scorn any thought of ever speaking again to the clergy of some other nations. Several have already refused to serve on certain international committees if the clergymen of another specified nation were upon it. This will all pass, and I feel sure that these ministers will speak, even if they cannot forgive. But it is useless for Church or nation to ask the warring Powers now to cease their strife. Furthermore, there is too wide a difference of opinion among neutrals to arrive at any concerted action. A group in which several clergymen were present debated this very question for several hours the other day, and finally it became apparent that there was no possibility of framing a request to the European nations to cease their warring, simply because these clergymen did not want the war to stop. They frankly said they did not believe there was any hope of lasting peace until certain nations learned the lesson that militarism was a stark and absolute failure, a delusion and a snare. But there is one thing the Church can do: it can begin at once through every pulpit to preach this message, "The Last War."

It can show the world what war means. I do not mean that it should dwell upon the hor-

rors of the battlefield. The daily papers keep them before us night and day. But this war is revealing worse things than wounds, torture, disease and lingering death. The Church can show that war means the Sermon on the Mount stamped under feet, brute forces made the law of life in place of spiritual forces, "curse your enemies" substituted for "love your enemies." In Europe we have the awful spectacle now of even ministers of the Gospel and college professors engaged in cursing the ministers and professors of opposing countries with all their hearts. But the cursing of the enemy has become the religion of the masses. The Church can show the world how war drives that pity, which Jesus Christ made the acme of divinity in man, entirely out of the human heart and turns the hearts of whole nations into stone. We have had the spectacle of a million women and children being driven ruthlessly from their homes to freeze and starve, and not one expression of pity from entire nations—rather there have been exultations over it. The Church can show how war stops the whole progress of the kingdom of God both at home and abroad, and sets it back for a century. The German missions are all being abandoned. The English missions are beginning to feel the strain. Work for the poor and lowly is being

suspended in city after city. The great social reforms of Europe are thrust aside in the mad absorption of all minds in preparing to kill men; and the money for hospitals, old-age pensions, elimination of disease, a hundred other reforms, is being diverted to guns and battle-ships. The Church can show how Christian co-operation of the nations against great common evils and against the advance of heathenism has been shattered just as it was becoming beautiful and effective. Already men in one nation have said that they can never again sit with their brethren of a certain other nation in the Edinburgh Conference of Missions or in the World Alliance of the Churches for Promoting International Good-will. It is going to take years to close these awful rents in Christ's garments. The Church can show how this war means the moral and physical degeneration of Europe for generations, the wiping out of the hard-earned gains of a century, the killing of the best of men, the strong, clean, vigorous youth, leaving the weak and unfit to breed the coming race. The Church can show that this war is going to fill the defeated nations with a spirit of revenge which will so possess all hearts that none of the nobler Christian virtues can spring up or flourish therein. The Church can show how

in the victorious nations the ideals of the Gospel: meekness, moral heroism, gentleness, will be eclipsed by the exaltation of the martial qualities. "Was it not our valiant fighters, our war heroes, our gunboats, and swords which saved us? Hereafter let us trust in our swords first and God afterward," they will say. The Church can show how war means the moral deterioration of all the boys and girls of Europe, and of America as well. For are not the fifty million children of America being fed daily on slaughter, cruelty, blood and rapine?

All these things the Church can bring home to the people, and, having done so, ask them, "Do you want this ever to happen again in the world for which Jesus Christ lived and died? Is it not defeating just that for which Christianity exists and is striving? Does it not divert from the Church all the devotion and energy which is necessary for its conquest of the world?" Was it not pathetic that the dying Pope Pius X. should have said, as almost his last words, that once the Church could have stopped this war, but now no one heeded it? Is not the reason that it has lost so much of its power because its energy has been so largely diverted by war and preparation for war? Has not the fact that the Church as a whole has not proclaimed war anathema and utterly and ab-

solutely contradictory to the religion of Jesus Christ and that no man who took part in it except in self-defence, and then only as a last resort, after courts and all else had been tried, could have any part in the Christian Church—has not this fact, I say, been just the thing that has so weakened the Church's authority in this regard that if now she attempts to speak, it is with weak voice? But I believe that if she should now put before the world just what war means, and then in one mighty and unanimous voice condemn it absolutely, the world would listen. The world's very surprise would cause it to listen. The time has come to do this. There is no escaping the fact that the Church is on trial. Only the blind can fail to see that a myriad voices from every nation are asking, "Is the Church equal to this task or not? If it is not then let us try something else." I believe it is equal to the task. I believe that it has, as vicar of Jesus Christ, the chosen representative of Himself in the world, the words of eternal life. I want to see it rise now in unity and proclaim to the world, speaking with authority: "This must be The Last War." And I believe it would be "The Last War."

II

A CONFESSION OF FAITH

I HAVE been requested by several correspondents to answer questions they have sent me. These many questions, called out by an editorial of mine in "The Christian Work" on "The War and Agnosticism," show that evidently the number whose faith has been shaken is great. The several questions might be compounded into one which would read something like this: "We should greatly like to know your own point of view on the question of war, and its relation to Christianity. Have you been able to keep your faith in Christianity, in God, in humanity? If so, by what means and on what foundation does it rest?"

I do not know why anyone should be particularly interested in my personal point of view, but since so many are, I will try to state it. It may help someone, although I think I have given it fairly comprehensively in the ninth chapter "The War and Agnosticism." Yes, my faith was shaken. I came across Europe just in time to see the whole great civiliza-

tion apparently crumbling to pieces. It did look to me, and to fifty eminent Americans with me, as if Christianity had utterly failed. I doubt if anyone could come through Europe since August 2, and not have his faith shaken or at least tried. One prominent English divine said, "I don't see how I can ever preach again." Let not one of us here in America who has not seen the things as he did, at first hand, rebuke him for saying that. I imagine thousands of European ministers experienced that same feeling for a moment. Christ once felt that God had deserted him and cried, "Why hast thou forsaken me!" One thing is certain, that every lover of the kingdom of God had equally good reason with Christ to feel that way as he crossed Europe. ~~Yes, my faith was shaken for a moment. But it is stronger than ever now,~~ although perhaps it assumes a little different emphasis since the war broke out. I think that almost everybody in America, and a great multitude in England, thought that the cause of international good-will was nearing that point where the danger of wars was reduced to a minimum, where nations were beginning to think of arbitration before war, and where every nerve would be strained to settle disputes without resorting to war. I still believe that the world was rapidly nearing that goal and

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that most of the nations were ready to refer any question to an impartial tribunal. But we live in a world so organized politically that one nation can set at naught the advance of all the rest, and can force nations, decidedly leaning toward peace, into war. The shock to faith was a hundred-fold more severe because of the great progress we were making. In spite of our progress, our arbitration treaties, our Hague Court, the ever-widening peace sentiment, our Palace of Peace; in spite of all this, in five days only, all Europe had passed from hardly a rumour of war into the present madness. No wonder man's faith has been tried!

My own feeling, just at present, is this: I do not believe civilization has vanished entirely from the earth, but I am absolutely convinced that the civilization, or at least the political order, of Europe of the last fifty years has proved an absolute and utter failure and has collapsed beyond repair. (I hope to God no one will try to repair or restore it. It is a useless thing and a new one must be found. But I will come to that in a moment.) There is a vast and high civilization left in America untouched by this cataclysm, as there is in the neutral states of Europe. Perhaps America is to be the especially chosen nation to keep the lamp burning while the civilization of Europe

falls in ruins, and to light the new lamps after the old ones in Europe have gone out forever.

There is, of course, some civilization left in the countries at war—more in some than in others. But I do not see how anyone can fail to realize that the political order on which Europe has been built has proved utterly worthless. It carried in its hands the seeds of this awful catastrophe and is powerless to prevent such cataclysms occurring at any time. It is based on force; it lives by aggression; it encourages national and racial antipathies; it emphasizes national rights, never national duties; it centres the national policy in the hands of a few so that the people do not know what is going on,* and these few plunge the nations into war without consulting the people; all its diplomacy is secret and circuitous; it breeds suspicions and distrusts between nations; it offers no real chance of national expression; and finally it is keyed up to war and not to peace. The reason Sir Edward Grey's heroic efforts to preserve the peace of Europe

*For instance, I could not find one man in the city of Constance who knew anything about what was going on during the week of the momentous correspondence of Earl Grey with the nations, or who had the slightest idea that war was coming until after it had been declared, and then no one knew exactly what it was all about except that he had a vague idea that Russia had invaded Germany.

failed was simply this: all the political machinery of Europe has been constructed to be ready for quick war and not quick peace. It was geared to war and brought war (which no one wanted except Austria if we can believe the protestations of Germany, England, France and Russia). Yes, as an instrument of justice, peace, love, good-will, which is the real aim of any civilization, the present order has proved a miserable failure. I do not believe it will ever prove otherwise. If the nations should stop fighting now and go back to it, I think we would get the whole thing over again some day. Surely that kind of civilization has collapsed. The only hope is a new one, real and radical democracy, where all is done in the open, where the political machinery is made for peace and international co-operation, where those who love peace, and not war, rule, and where the thoughts and concerns of governments are for industry, art, science, education and religion instead of war. It is not unfair to say that the governments of Europe, for the last forty years, have given six hours of thought to war, and one to these other things.

Do I believe that Christianity has failed? That depends on what my questioners mean. If they mean, Do I believe that God has gone out of existence, or is powerless, or that the

teachings of Jesus Christ are false, then I will answer, No. I do not believe that God is dead. But I do believe that half of Europe has forgotten him. I do not believe the teachings of Jesus Christ to be false, but I believe with all my heart that Europe has not taken them to heart. Neither has America accepted them eagerly. (I notice a tendency just now for the Church to ask at last if they may not be true. The other day I heard a minister, who was somewhat stunned by this war, remark: "I don't know but there's some truth in the Sermon on the Mount after all;" and an English minister remarked to me in London: "Perhaps Jesus Christ knew what he was talking about after all." These remarks reveal what I mean.) It is unfair to say that the teachings of Jesus have failed because the ministers, the church, the people and the nation have neither believed the particular teachings of Christ that will stop war (and they predominate), nor taught them. If you ask me if I believe that conventional Christianity has failed, I say Yes, openly and frankly. But it is unnecessary that anyone should say so. We are witnessing its failure. If what is now going on in Europe is not barbarism, then what is barbarism? If the wiping of innocent Belgium out of existence and the devastation of Poland,

and the infliction of the unspeakable consequent suffering on hundreds of thousands of women and children, is not the absolute denial of Christianity, I do not know what is. Indeed the whole war business has no part with Jesus Christ.

Of course, I make allowance for the fact to which Dr. Jefferson has recently called attention, namely, that one must not blame the Church for the sins of a world that will not listen to her. And yet I feel very strongly that the Church in Europe has neither quite believed one side of Jesus Christ's teachings nor taught it. It has been faithful to his message of salvation for the individual, but it has had little to say about the Sermon on the Mount. I have been a rather ardent reader of both German and British sermons. I glance through six or seven British sermons every week and read a considerable number of German sermons. I can recall not more than two German sermons that rebuked militarism as the Sermon on the Mount cuts at it root and branch. "Love your enemies." Did any German preacher ever preach to his people that they should love Frenchmen? "Strike not back." "Seek not revenge," "Blessed are the meek, the peacemakers, the humble." These are Jesus' teachings. But I find them in no Ger-

The awful triumphs, etc

man sermons. I do not even find German preachers or theologians rebuking Nietzsche, Treitschke and Bernhardi, all of whom say that these are impossible and mischievous teachings. (Nietzsche substituted a set of beatitudes for those of Jesus to offset their mischievous effect, in which might, relentless power and selfishness are glorified as the highest attributes of man.) Nowhere in German sermons do I find the truth that shines through every utterance of Jesus that his kingdom is not built on force, has nothing to do with it, distrusts it absolutely, and furthermore discards exaggerated nationalism for discipleship in the kingdom of God. All this is lacking in the Christianity of Germany, so far as I can discover. A great German professor admitted to my friend, Professor Gulick, some time before there was any talk of war, that there was no interest whatever in Germany in the movement for good-will among men, and for substituting a basis of brotherhood and peace for a war basis. He said that were he to lecture on the subject in the university, not more than two students would appear. My friend, Mr. Nasmyth, who has written the most sympathetic presentation of the German point of view, admits in the issue of "The Christian World" for Oct. 1 (I quote), "it is true that the Ger-

man church leaders as such did not combat militarism, because this was regarded as an internal political question with which the State Church in Germany could not interfere!" Does anyone believe that if the German church had been preaching for forty years the Sermon on the Mount as the law of nations, love, not might, as the basis of civilization, duties, not rights, the chief concern of life, humanity far above nationalism, the Prussian militarism would have held Germany in its iron grasp?

I dwell upon Germany because she is the nation more tightly than the others in the clutch of that militaristic worship which contradicts every word of Jesus, and because the Church in Germany has most neglected this side of Jesus' teachings.

But Great Britain cannot escape the same condemnation. To be sure there has been a vigorous peace movement in her churches during the last six or seven years, and a group of ministers have arisen—mostly in the free churches—men like Clifford, Horton, Williams and Horne, who have denounced militarism as contrary to the whole teaching of Jesus. But up to within two years such sermons were stray notes. Neither the great Church of England, nor the equally great body of the Free Churches have preached the Sermon on

STILL insisting on applying law of Jesus

A Confession of Faith

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the Mount as the basis of national greatness, nor advocated, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour nation as thyself," as England's law of life. The truth is that the nations, America included (although we have sinned least in this regard), have distrusted the practicability of the teachings of Jesus. Only force, armaments, jealous guarding of one's own rights were practical principles for nations. These have now proved utterly useless to preserve peace or to save even civilization from rack and ruin. "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword," said Jesus, and again he spoke truly. Christianity has failed largely because it has failed to believe and teach these things. It has not over-emphasized the individual life in God, but it has altogether neglected Jesus' teaching that civilization must be based on love. It has believed that Jesus' Gospel was big enough to redeem men and govern their relationships. It has not believed that it was big enough to redeem nations and govern their attitudes toward each other. The result is that it could not stay this descent of Europe into Hell.

No, I do not believe that real Christianity has failed, for it has not been tried. Conventional Christianity has failed. And I think most of the world realizes this and is ready now to try real, whole Christianity. I think

the German, English, French and Russian Church, as well as the American, is already beginning to wonder if Jesus was not right, and knew whereof he spoke when he said that they who put their trust in the sword, in armament, in might, would perish by the sword, armament and might. This is just what is happening. I think the churches of the world will be ready now to follow the Lord all the way, not merely half the way. If once we can get Christianity really tried there will be no cause for shaken faith, for nothing will happen to shake it. I look for a Christianity that will speak to the nations with authority and say, "You must live by the same teachings of Jesus Christ that good men long ago made the basis of their lives."

III

A CONFESSION OF FAITH

(Continued)

IN the preceding chapter I gave my reasons for still having faith in civilization and Christianity in spite of their seeming collapse. In this chapter I wish to take up the question about faith in God and in humanity as affected by this awful calamity. Do I still believe in God? Yes; for the wickedness of man is no proof of God's eclipse. God has made us free agents, not sticks, not stones, not mere puppets even, to be pulled back and forth by him with a string. He creates us free, furnishes us every influence, every counsel, every help, sends us teachers, even gave us his own Son to guide us. If, in spite of all these, we turn away from him and refuse to follow his ways or to live his life, or to accept the proffered help, it is no sign that he has failed. It is a sign that the present generation has failed.

Of course, I do not minimize the temptation to feel in the thick darkness that God is dead.

I imagine there are thousands of poor fellows in the vanguard of this war who have thought so many times. Recently Canon Douglas, of New York, read a letter from the front to a large group of the New York clergy, and the doubt in God's goodness which the poor man had come to feel—it was a letter which fairly stunned the group into long silence—reflected the feeling of many. The English religious magazines are relating many stories of men who have had their faith in God shaken under the awful stress. Not long ago a prominent man was heard to remark that he could never believe in God or an overruling Providence for good if God let a certain nation win in this war. Another man wrote a few days ago: "How can I believe in God when I see the fate of innocent Belgium? If ever God intervenes he should have done so then." All this is very natural, and perhaps all of us have now and then wondered and been perplexed.

But we must be very careful how we throw responsibilities on God which belong to ourselves. As the Archbishop of Canterbury says, this war is not God's work, but the devil's—meaning by devil, the devil that is in the human heart. Let me quote one paragraph from his fine sermon on the war:

"This thing which is now astir in Europe

is not the work of God, but of the devil. It is not the development of God's purposes; it is the marring of them by the self-will, the sheer wrongness of man. What is happening must be due somewhere, somehow (I am not now attempting to judge where or how), to the pride, the high-handedness, the stubbornness of men's temper undoing and thwarting the handiwork and will of God. We have got to set ourselves, slowly it may be, but determinedly as the generations pass, to eradicate and make unendurable, the temper among men from which such things spring, to 'shrivel the falsehood from the souls of men' in the name of the Prince of Peace, who still goes forth conquering and to conquer. And, never let us forget it, we have in these latter years done something substantial on that pathway. A hundred years ago no more than the barest handful of people could have been found in England, or Germany, or France who believed in any arbitrament except war. And now? Why, notwithstanding all our shattered hopes and, as we are tempted to murmur, our unanswered prayers, there are, beyond all question, tens of thousands of thoughtful people in Europe and America, as well as in England, who are throwing themselves with an eagerness which they rightly believe to come from God

into the furtherance of the 'more excellent way.'"

No, God is not dead. His purposes are defeated for a while, but he will wait until his children come again to themselves. Perhaps they will seek him with a new fervor, having seen how man's ways fail, and trying his ways find lasting peace. Through the ages one increasing purpose runs which no calamity can thwart in its ultimate fulfilment though it be often checked by man's perversity. It is a great pity though that when the goal seemed nearer than it has ever been that the world of Europe should have dropped back a hundred years. But God is there waiting to lift them up again when men will hold out their hands.

Have I lost faith in humanity? When I crossed France and Germany I thought I had. For the soldiers had become bestial and the light of vengeance had begun to shine in their eyes. It was disheartening to anyone's faith to hear the crowds of youth in France shouting "To hell with Germany" and the crowds in Germany shouting "To hell with France." Dr. Laidlaw in his trip across France after the war broke out saw a French soldier run his bayonet out of a train window as the train stopped at a station, on which was proudly displayed a German helmet, and the soldier

shouted to the bystanders, "I have four more inside." The stories which have come from the battlefields tend to destroy our faith in men. The mere fact that all these millions of men are engaged in trying to blow each other to pieces under the impulse of fierce passion is enough to shake our confidence in the capacity of man to rise far above beasthood for any length of time.

But my faith in man remains with me. It is sustained by things I know and have seen. Say what one will, this awful war was not brought on by the ~~people of the different lands~~. Of course they were loyal to their country after it broke out, and they were, most of them, persuaded that their country had been forced into the war by others. But I was in England, France and Germany before the war broke out and found no eagerness for war among the people. Indeed, they were sick of the whole war business, and many of them in each country were tired even of militarism, which inevitably leads to war, as we have now seen. I talked with Englishmen in London, Frenchmen in Paris, Germans in Constance and on trains, and they did not want war. They all said it was very sad. There were many officers and some soldiers—not all of them—who were eager for war. They are trained for war, and all

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men like to exercise the trade they have spent years in acquiring. A few statesmen in Europe were undoubtedly eager for war. But the people were not, and would have gone on in that quiet industrial development which was spreading over Europe, and the various nations would have advanced in that new international brotherhood which was influencing Europe, had not twenty-five men plunged Europe into war. You may be sure that thousands of those men who are sincerely fighting to save their country, deep down in their hearts, even in the shadows of bullets, are asking themselves, "Is there no other way?" Furthermore, in all these lands there are men who for years have been working to prevent just this thing, and the number of these men is increasing. We must not forget that there is the Germany of Siegmund-Schultze as well as the Germany of Bernhardi; there is the France of the martyred Jaurès as well as the France of Paul Déroulède; there is the Russia of Tolstoy as well as the Russia of the Imperial Court. And in America is there not rapidly rising a new conscience which feels that war is absolutely contradictory to the religion of Jesus Christ? No, I have not lost faith in humanity.

IV

THE CHRISTIAN AND THE WORLD'S SORROW

A REMARKABLE little book has recently come from the pen of the Rev. David Baines-Griffiths, of New York, entitled "Our Brother of Joy." It is a lucid and suggestive discussion of the old question of asceticism and Christianity. Apart from the fact that the book has distinct literary charm, the question might be raised by some as to its being worth while. Is not the whole thing a dead issue? The author quickly dispels that illusion, for in the first chapter, "The Ascetic Blight," he shows not only how the Church, through history, has tended to identify Christianity and voluntary suffering, and how many of the saints have insisted that Christ was an ascetic and taught asceticism, but he also shows how many great moderns have identified Christianity and self-imposed suffering and renunciation. Tolstoy was, of course, the greatest of all these. There is also a large party in the Catholic Church who still look upon asceticism

as the height of Christian attainment. Mr. Baines-Griffiths calls attention to Canon Jérôme Ribet's "*L'ascétique Chrétienne*," published in 1902, which glorifies "The Austerities." Pope Leo XIII. warmly approved this book.

No, asceticism is not at all a dead issue, and I welcome Mr. Baines-Griffiths' book, because it so unanswerably shows, both by examination of Christ's own words and by keen analysis of the religious nature, that Christianity is not a religion of renunciation, pain, chastisement, repression, abstinence, poverty simply for their own sakes, setting no value upon them when sought as ends, but is a religion of abounding life, of light, of joy. Not boisterous, clamorous, unrestrained joy, but calm, equable, serene bliss and inner peace. Of course Christ does, in every word, teach that suffering in the service of the world is high and holy. The highest bliss is to make sacrifices for the sake of the world. And it is because of this unending note in the gospels that the ascetics have glorified suffering in itself. But the mistake lies in making what Christ glorified as means into ends. The transference deprives holy qualities of their virtue and makes of them blights and hindrances to the Christian life. The whole teaching of

Jesus on the subject can be summed up in a word: Service, not suffering, is the chief aim of life, but if suffering comes in the service take it gladly. If bravely borne, it becomes merit. But this is a totally different thing from asceticism.

The whole question has now been raised in new form by this awful war, as have all other questions. What now is puzzling the hearts of all those who have hearts is whether, in the face of such frightful calamities as are befalling millions of our brothers, before such fearful suffering, pain of body and anguish of mind—we should allow ourselves to pursue our wonted way of gladness, amusement, mirth, and music, even had we the heart so to do. While all Europe is in agony perforce, ought we not at least to be in subdued and solemn mood by choice, foregoing all that seems incongruous with this universal funeral? Should we dance while our neighbour is dying? As a friend said to me the other day, "We gave up our Thanksgiving dinner. We had no heart for it, but even though we had, it would have seemed too much like enjoying a feast while the family above us were holding a funeral." He had just been reading the news from Belgium.

This question has been much to the front

in England and has been causing much warm discussion. When the war broke out and thousands of Britishers were being shipped to France, and the news of deaths began coming back, thousands a day, many people were horrified at the spectacle of the theatres being opened, as usual, at the football and cricket matches being played, at the concerts in Albert Hall, at the dinner parties and dances at the hotels, at the bands playing their joyous music in the parks. A very considerable protest began to appear in the papers. "These things were unseemly, irreverent," many said, "blasphemous." "England should go into mourning. All amusements should be stopped. Those who had not lost loved ones should mourn with those who had. Those who were not fighting should be suffering vicariously. Those who were not shooting should be praying." To all of which the answers soon began appearing in the papers to the effect that this would be the most disastrous thing that could happen to England as well as the most senseless. "Keep all the places of amusement open. Go on with your games. Play your liveliest music. Keep the lighted salons of the hotels open. What the nation needs is good cheer and mirth to offset the despondency and gloom. The more it can appear that the nation is pursuing its

Christians and the World's Sorrow 41

wonted way in spite of dire calamity the more confidence there will be in the hearts of the people," and so the discussion has gone on. There has been the same discussion in Berlin and Paris, if one can judge from the few papers that reach us from these countries.

The question has even been raised in America. One well-known college professor has recommended everyone wearing a band of crepe on his arm. Several letters appeared in New York protesting against the opening of the opera. Many families dispensed with the usual Thanksgiving festivities. One man said: "It seemed like sacrilege even to be happy in the face of the Belgian suffering." Many wondered whether they ought to celebrate Christmas in the usual joyous way. "Not only will Christmas be sad enough, do what we will, but ought we not to choose to be sad on that day which will be a mockery to half the world?"

Into this question Mr. Baines-Griffiths does not go, since it had not been raised until just after his book was written. The fact that it has been raised so universally is interesting as showing that a new sympathy is upon the world. It did not disturb people half so much during the Napoleonic wars. They were not so world-wide in their sympathies, their hearts

were not so sensitive to the pain of others, and war was taken for granted. But one cannot read the gospels as carefully as the author of "Our Brother of Joy" has done without feeling that Christ would not have us turn absolutely from joy because of the pain of the world. Christ bearing the pain of the world upon his heart went to the wedding feast at Cana. And not only did his presence cast no gloom, but he evidently enjoyed himself as did the other guests. He wept over Jerusalem, as all of us weep over Europe, but yet he took his evening meal with Mary and Martha and brought great cheer into the home. Should we stop all our mirth and laughter, discontinue our comic papers, stay away from festivals and socials, play only mournful music, sing dirges, hang our Christmas trees with mourning, stop all our sports and games? I think not. Even for our own sakes it would not be wise. As an American friend remarked to me in England just after the war broke out, when we had laughed heartily at some comic incident: "I believe I should die if I could not laugh." Many of us know what he meant although perhaps some feel this catastrophe so deeply that they cannot laugh at anything. But it renders no help to the Belgians or to the widows and orphans of Europe for us to refrain from

Christians and the World's Sorrow 43

our common joys. The relaxation incident to our most liked pleasures will help us to be strong to sympathize and aid. It may be a good thing for some nation to keep joy alive in the world so that those poor stricken nations that have lost it may recognize it after the desolation is over.

And yet there is no doubt but that to thousands there is incongruity between our great rejoicing and Europe's great suffering that will temper all our pleasures this year. We have no heart for revelry. Our conscience troubles us when we spend too much on self. If we might venture to state what to us seems the Christian attitude at just this time we should say: "Let us keep cheerful faces. Let us greet the morning with thanksgiving and seek our beds in peace. Let us play with little children as children ourselves. Let us pursue our wonted games and frequent the socials and, receptions, the dinners and dinner-parties given by our friends and try to carry sunlight with us. Let us hear the music we like and feel no sin because it is a scherzo or an allegro vivace. Let us read the jokes in our paper, and let us decorate the Christmas tree for the children and remember those we love with gifts." But we would, while doing all this, do it temperately as those who cannot

leap and shout while so many are dying; and surely let us bear on our hearts the burden of the world—only as those can who have faith; and let us, because we are happy, do something to relieve that burden. The upshot of all I have been saying is: When joy and health is natural it is no virtue to assume sorrow and pain. Christianity is fundamentally the promise of life, joy and peace to the whole world.

V.

AN APPEAL FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE

Defence **T**HE time has come to consider seriously increasing the defences of the nation to a point that will render the United States immune from attack by any outside power. Her defences should be upon such a gigantic scale that no outside nation would ever consider war with the United States as a possibility. She should make herself so impregnable that she could relieve herself from all worry of foreign complications and be able to devote herself entirely to the pursuit of social, industrial, artistic, educational, and moral development. It is time that the people were aroused to this imperative duty of increasing the national defence until all can rest secure.

I presume the readers of this book have by this time turned to the title page to see if they have gotten a copy of a Navy book by mistake. For of all times in the world to talk of armament as the guarantee of peace, they are saying, this is the worst, and of all wickedness, this is it, to be urging militarism upon America. For

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armament
as militarism

is not this awful catastrophe of Europe the very fruit of armament and militarism? Has not militarism been discredited forever as an adequate basis of civilization, and has not armament been shown an absolute failure in preserving peace or even as a national defence? Has not everybody who was in Europe come home saying: "One thing is certain, nations which are armed to the teeth will fight on the slightest provocation. They show themselves suspicious of each other's motives in arming, and suspicions as well as increased armament breed wars. If you make the nations into great powder magazines, when some fanatic throws a match in, as did that Servian boy, they will go off. Powder always does go off sooner or later. Instruments of war will not keep the peace any more than whiskey will keep men sober. The slogan 'The way to keep the peace is to prepare for war,' has been discredited forever." Everyone who knows is saying this, and now, in the face of it all, you are urging the United States to arm herself against the world!

Yes, I urge it with all my might. I urge it more ardently than do the Army and Navy officials at Washington who make a great and powerful lobby which continually pesters Congressmen to vote for vast navies and huge armies. I urge it more vigorously than the

various Army and Navy journals. I even urge it more untiringly than do the manufacturers of armaments, which is saying a great deal. We have no suspicions of Japan or Germany now, but one never knows what will happen. It pays to be prepared for anything that may come. I want to see the United States impregnable against the world. I want to see her so armed that when she speaks all the world will have to listen. I want hers to be the commanding voice of the world. I believe that for this, armament much more vast than she now has is essential. Therefore I shout as loudly as does Mr. Roosevelt: "Let us arm! Let us arm!"

But the world is just now learning that there are two ways of arming, two kinds of national defence, two methods of securing peace. It is rapidly losing faith in the first of these ways—that of guns, cannon, shells, forts, dreadnoughts, dynamite and soldiers. Never were the nations so fully armed with these things as on August 3; never did the nations plunge into so vast, so horrible, so destructive a war. Never were there so many fortresses and guns and soldiers in Europe, all raised to the highest point to prevent war coming—never did war come so fast in the history of man. Never were the nations so impregnably armed as on August

3, never did they feel so secure even from attack; never did the nations more recklessly and with so little thought of the armament of their neighbours rush at each other. Never was there so much talk of armaments as being the means of preserving the peace of Europe as during the last few years. One heard it in the German and English Parliaments daily and frequently in Russia and in France. Never was there so manifest a disposition to rush to war over the first serious question in dispute between the nations as was displayed by some of those nations which had armed to keep peace. This method has been discredited forever. He is a reckless man who urges it upon America. He does not count the cost. He has not learned the one lesson blood-drenched, sorrow-stricken Europe is teaching us at this hour. Sensible Americans will give slight heed to his words.

I believe in armament. I believe that in our present state of the world a country must have a national defence so great that all the world will look at it as impregnable, but after coming out of Europe, I put little faith in guns and soldiers as that defence. Neither do they add greatly to the influence of nations, and certainly none to their power to keep the peace. There is another armament, which is infinitely more

powerful than guns or battleships. There are other agencies of defence that ward off hostile nations with infinitely greater effectiveness than fortresses and cannon. There is a national safeguard infinitely more compelling upon the thoughts and acts of other nations toward us than great militaristic establishments. It is with these we must arm. It is toward these things that even Europeans are at this moment turning, as the old methods—guns, powder, fortresses, soldiers—are failing men.

Yes, let us arm mightily, but let us remember that character is the greatest defence of a nation as it is of a man. Let us so establish the character of this nation that it shall be known by every people in Asia, Europe, South America and Africa. Let us put all our energy, not in upbuilding our army, but in upbuilding our character. Let this character be so positive, so outstanding, so radiant that it burns unsuspected before all the world—a character which stands for justice to our own people and all others; which believes in righteousness as a national as well as an individual asset; a character which spurns intrigue and lies of any sort; a character so honourable that it holds treaties as holy bonds which men of any sense of honour would not break, even though it cost their lives. Let the United States arm itself

with this character, and what nation will attack it?

Let us arm. Let us proclaim to all the world (more by deed perhaps than by word, although there is no harm in words when they are kept), that the United States will, under no considerations, steal territory or anything else from weaker nations, that it will never commit an injustice toward another nation or bully it, because it is weak; yea, let us go farther and say to all the nations of East and West, North and South: "We desire only to be your friends. We want to help you develop your institutions. Let us send you advisers, teachers and lend you money at low rates of interest.

Let us help you solve your internal problems. Let us befriend you in every way." Which nation thus befriended would attack the United States?

Let us provide means of national defence. Great armies? No. They have failed. *Great arbitration treaties* such as the President and Secretary Bryan are now signing with the nations are worth a big army in every state. Multiply these treaties so that they will include every nation. As soon as possible tighten them in their scope. Get out all conditional and qualifying terms and make them absolute offers to arbitrate every difficulty with any nation. Go

good-will begets good-will

Appeal for National Defence 51

on offering such treaties—offering them with a Senate unanimously behind them—and each one will become an impregnable fortress, and the United States will gain such a reputation of deserving only good will and co-operation with every other nation, that all the world will turn to her with trust.

Shall we be prepared to resist an invasion should some victorious European Power see fit to come? Yes. There is no harm in protecting ourselves against such a contingency if anyone has fears, although I believe such fears are groundless. But what a waste of millions of dollars, what a waste of energy, what a source of endless friction an Army and Navy big enough to guarantee that would be! It would surely bring us into war. Indeed, many of the most astute students of affairs in Europe, Europeans themselves, are saying that it is absolutely impossible to keep a nation out of a war when her Army and Navy reaches a certain size. No, not this way. But let the United States arm herself against Europe by proposing as soon as this war is over that England, France, Russia and Germany join her in a League of Peace which will agree to submit all disputes to an international court and which will maintain an international Navy simply large enough to insist on all other

nations doing the same thing. Could the United States but persuade these four to join, every other nation would gladly affix its name.

But how about Japan? Should we not arm against her? Yes, we should arm at once. It would cost the United States about one hundred million dollars to begin on the Navy Messrs. Meyer, Hobson, Mann and the others would have her build to protect herself against Japan. I feel confident that that Navy would probably lead us into war with her. For she would begin building also. It would make us domineering toward South America, and probably breed trouble there. But there is a way to protect ourselves against Japan. There is an army that would be invincible, and at just one-tenth the expenditure of the appropriation named above—ten million dollars. Let Congress appropriate \$10,000,000 for defence against Japan this year. Then take it and build a fine library in ten Japanese cities, a great hospital in ten Japanese cities, a university in ten Japanese cities, and then say: "We present these to you as testimonials of our good-will. Furthermore, we intend to keep all treaties we have made with you, and also we intend as a nation to treat the question of Japanese immigration with absolute justice and in strict regard of your self-respect.

Japan
Appeal for National Defence 53

Should the United States say this, *there would not be necessity of one gunboat on the Pacific coast for the next quarter century so far as Japan is concerned.* How wasteful nations are in defending themselves!

Yes, let us arm. But let us do it effectively and economically. Let the nation take the money we put into gunboats and put it into colleges, hospitals and libraries in other lands. Each one costs one-twentieth of a battleship and is worth ten of them as self-defence. Let us appropriate a little more money—one-tenth of one battleship this year, and invite the legislatures of South America to be our guests for a month. Who could attack his host? After this war is over let us invite the legislators, professors, editors and clergymen of Europe to be our guests. At the same time let us say to China, Japan, Mexico, all the American republics—send us your young men to educate. A thousand of them would cost the Government, bearing all the expenses, about \$1,000,000. Ten gunboats would cost \$100,000,000, and would not prove half the defence. A few years ago when the United States sent her Navy to Japan to impress that nation with “her power,” a Japanese remarked to the writer: “There is one missionary in Japan who is worth more than your biggest Navy in keeping peace

between the two countries." After the United States refused the Boxer indemnity all talk of war with the United States stopped in China and has not since been heard.

VI

THE MISCHIEVOUS DOCTRINE OF RIGHTS

IT is something of a question whether a Christian has anything to do with rights in any form or not. There is not the slightest indication that the Founder of Christianity was ever concerned with them. He was much exercised over the rights of others, but there is not a passage in the gospels, so far as I remember, that would indicate that he ever worried over his own rights or gave them even a thought. Indeed, the testimony is all to the effect that it mattered not what happened to him so long as other people got their rights. Once when his accompanying disciples wanted him to call down fire on a certain city and assert his rights he rebuked them and intimated that he was not on earth for that sort of thing, but to get rights for others. Then again, when Peter drew his sword to assert his Master's rights Jesus told him somewhat sharply to put up his sword. The idea of rights seemed never to have oc-

curred to Jesus. He was on earth to see that his brethren in all ages got their rights, and he forgot his own.

The question will not be downed, although I will not press it too hard here, whether this should not be the attitude of every Christian. The Christian is one who takes the same outlook on life which Christ took, is he not? "We have the mind of Christ," said Paul in speaking of Christians. But Christ's conception of life was that it was a "mission." He thought of his own life—and he certainly thought of the life of his immediate disciples in the same way—as a mission. He was sent. The one thought was to do the work the Father had given him to do. If the Christian looks on life as a mission, a commission from God to save the world and to secure rights and justice for his brother, will he be much exercised over his personal rights? The testimony of the great Christians through all the ages has been that they were willing even to suffer indignities and contempts if they might perform their mission. Certainly the outstanding Christians have not given much thought to their own rights.

But granting that this ideal may be too high for any but the saints, that it may be asking too much of even the average good Christian

core of
his moral
philosophy

to abnegate contention for his rights at all times and under even the most provoking circumstances, even granting that at times he may be fairly justified in standing up for his rights, every Christian, even the most indifferent one, has reached the stage where he will not insist on obtaining his own rights at the expense of the discomfort and suffering of the whole neighbourhood. Even the State, which does not technically call itself Christian, takes this matter into its own hands and sees that no single citizen undertakes the securing of rights and justice or the defending of his honour in any way that may work injury to others. The community is above the individual, and no matter how just my own grievance may be I have no right to set about righting it or punishing my enemy if it is going in any wise to make others suffer. This is recognized in every civilized town. I must not take justice into my own hands, not only because no man is a good judge of his own case, but chiefly because I am sure to disturb the welfare of the community. I may say I have a right to do as I will in my own house and grounds. If by adhering to those rights I violate the common laws of health and threaten the town with typhoid fever, I immediately find I have no right at all to do these things. Individual

rights may never be secured at the expense of the common rights. This is so recognized in civilized lands that it is rare that even the worst types of men will jeopardize the lives of women and children in the pursuit of their seeming rights.

The question then immediately arises: has the time not come when nations should be compelled to respect these same laws? Has one nation a right to plunge all Europe into hell, or even to make all the other peaceful nations suffer—for all nations suffer vastly from the war of even two—simply to secure its own rights, even where it is recognized by all that the rights have been violated? Has any nation the right to go to war to-day without first consulting all the other nations and exhausting every existing means of securing justice when such a course invariably means the ruin of thousands of disinterested and innocent people, and may mean the drawing of many other nations into the war? What Mr. Taft said at the dedication of the Pan-American Peace Palace at Washington must be applied to all nations. He said that no two nations on the American Continent had any right to go to war and disturb all the others, and that he hoped the time would soon come when the nineteen nations would say to any other two consider-

Mischievous Doctrine of Rights 59

ing war, "*You must stop.*" It is time this came in all the world.

Anything similar to the affair of Austria-Hungary demanding her rights from Servia should never again be possible in a civilized world. It has long ago been rendered impossible among civilized individuals and communities. Nations should live by the same ethical standard regarding the question of rights. How utterly insignificant is the question of Austria's satisfaction and future guarantees from Servia compared with all Europe plunged into purgatory, as we see it now! And yet this unspeakable agony of the nations, this overthrowing almost of civilization, is due to one nation insisting on getting her rights, regardless of the rest of the world. Even though Austria had not foreseen a European conflagration, and believed that no other nation would interfere with her punishment of Servia, she had no right, in our modern complex and intertwined civilization, to precipitate the general disturbance of Europe's orderly progress that even a war confined to the two nations would create. But there is every reason to believe that Austria had general warning that this course of inflicting punishment on Servia and protecting her future rights would draw other nations into the conflict.

What about
Germany

Such a course was nothing more than a crime against all humanity, regardless of the justice of the cause.

'Any nation which to-day, with the present oneness of the world, *declares war against another country, thereby declares war against every other country, and the time has come to recognize this fact.* No Nation can go to war to-day without going to war against all humanity. Has not the time come to say to nations, just as we say to individuals: "If the securing the justice, the obtaining of your rights, the upholding of your honour, promises in any way to disturb the peace of the rest of the world and make all the innocent nations suffer, you must refrain from individual action and do as individuals do: try your case before some competent judicial body by orderly processes of law." As a matter of fact, this is the surest way to get justice in the end. For instance, what is Austria getting now? What might she not have had if she had taken her dispute with Servia to The Hague, as Servia was willing to do?

VII

THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE: A PROPHECY

THERE it stands, majestic and beautiful, but its marble halls are silent and deserted. It was built to be the home of the nations, but the nations pass by its ever open doors. It fulfilled the hope of the centuries, but that hope seems shattered to the dust. To its dedication all the nations came with their offerings as of old they came to the birth of the Prince of Peace, bringing gold and precious woods and stones, and now they have deserted it. Its walls bear exquisite paintings of the reign of law, whereas all around it reigns fiercest, most savage war. From it was to have gone forth the law, but law has been silenced by the din of lawless strife. There it stands, sublime hall of justice, home of lasting peace, capital of the new world—while justice is forgotten, the angel of peace is trodden under foot, and the nations have turned their faces from that new world which only a few months ago seemed dawning.

There the Palace stands—waiting, but no one comes. All over the world men are asking, was it a delusion, a vain dream, an idle hope? Was it not simply a munificent testimony of an unfounded optimism, a fantastic vision, an impossible faith, an impracticable idea, in the heart of its great donor? This is what many are telling us to-day. From England, Germany and America have recently come three books, one from each land, deriding all those beautiful hopes of which the Palace is an eloquent symbol. Not only are the dreams of peace vain, but the ways of peace are undesirable, they say. In all countries the Palace has been the subject of the cartoonist. A favourite picture has been that of the building fallen into ruins, and he who conceived it and reared it, sitting despondent among its broken pillars. "A palace of impossible faith and shattered dreams" men are calling it, "a temple to an ideal too high for man." "I hope Mr. Carnegie is considering some *practical* disposition of his Peace Palace," said an army officer to me in Europe the other day.

To all of which I answer *wait*. To be sure its marble halls are empty, to be sure the nations now rush by its open doors heedless of its call. But its doors are open and I believe that sooner than men now dare dream, the

The Peace Palace at the Hague 63

tired and weary nations will seek its waiting halls. I believe, that instead of its being the irony of history, as some have said, that it should have been dedicated just before the world repudiated all for which it stands, that "it is the great providence of history that it should have been finished just when it was." There it stands not only as a silent protest to all this folly of the nations, but as the only refuge left them when all else has failed. They are even now beginning to realize that all else has failed and soon they will say in their exhaustion: To whom else shall we go? *Thou only hast the words of eternal peace.*

Folly of war
will become so
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I believe that the nations will some day, perhaps sooner than we think, run to its portals as a tired and perverse child runs home. For what are the things for which the palace stands? *It stands for the establishment of civilization upon justice rather than brute force.* And all Europe is learning with awful swiftness that civilizations based on force, fear, terror, subjugation, tyranny, might, power, crumble into dust at the throwing of a bomb by a fanatical boy. All the might, all the invincible powers of Europe instead of making peace could bring forth nothing better than this awful chaos of primeval worlds. These things are being fast discredited forever even by those

who have been their defenders. Every day of Europe is causing thousands to say: The old ways have failed, it is now time to try the new. Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts. The old civilization, based on force, has collapsed, the world is learning. Disillusioned of force forever, it will some day be ready to try the new foundations of *justice, righteousness, international good will*. To the palace of justice will the nations come gladly.

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The Palace stands *for the character of nations, their fair-dealings with other nations, their friendly disposition, their desire to do justly by all peoples as the best defence and the surety of lasting peace*. Europe for the last fifty years has said that armament is the only defence of nations, armament is the only guarantee of peace, armament the only means of securing national stability or growth. So we have seen a civilization grow up based on militarism. The nations have become armed camps. The soldier has been chief among men. All the borders are lined with fortresses which bristle with guns. On the streets and on the ocean guns are everywhere in evidence. Guns have been more in evidence than either churches or schools. Every boy has been reared to shoot and kill. 'All have been taught

that by guns must the country be defended, must its advance be won, must the peace of Europe be maintained. And just when all this was at its highest, when Europe had become a powder magazine, a boy throws in a match and it all explodes. So has the fallacy that armament makes for peace exploded, and the world is seeing it. It is the nemesis of armament. Armament as a means of defence has failed absolutely. No sane man can ever again say "The way to get peace is to prepare for war." Surely Europe has learned this lesson as well as has America. Surely great hosts of people in Europe will be ready to say: "The old way has failed; let us try the new way, the way of The Hague." The Hague idea is that the character of a nation, its reputation for justice and fair dealing, its desire to render help to all other nations is the best defence that it can have, the safest protection with which it can arm itself against attack. To this idea the nations will soon be ready to listen. Indeed it looks as if they might be ready to try any *new* way since the old way has so miserably and utterly failed. To The Hague all nations that *sincerely desire peace* will be willing to go at the close of this war.

The Hague Palace stands for the *substitution of law for war in the settlement of inter-*

national disputes. It proclaims *arbitration* as better than *battleships* in securing national rights. It offers to the world a *supreme court of nations* as a surer means of justice than strife with guns. If the nations are ever going to learn anything out of the terrible experience through which they are now passing it is that war never settles anything except which nation is mightier in brute force, or which has the better guns, or which has the greater power of endurance. War gives *victories* but it never gives *justice*. After the most appalling loss of life, most overwhelming cost in money and devastated lands, after the set-back of industry and civilization a half century, the present conflicting nations will emerge with nothing settled except a temporary predominance. All the old problems, the old rancours, intensified, will be left. Even the victorious ones will be impoverished. A serious conference of the nations for a month, costing a few dollars, would have given infinitely better results. The case between Austria and Servia, had it been sent to The Hague, would probably have been settled to the satisfaction of everybody six months ago and all this unnecessary upheaval of Europe prevented. Force can never settle a question of right or wrong. I believe Europe is learning this lesson in this war, and after

the conflict is over the nations will see the foolishness as well as the wickedness of all this thing, and turn to The Hague with its court of arbitral justice, with its treaties of arbitration, with its foundation principle, "Law for War," saying: "Why did we not come here in the beginning? Let us be done with these old, outworn, futile ways forever, and make this court of justice the field on which all disputes are settled."

The Palace of The Hague stands for internationalism as against an excessive and exaggerated nationalism. It says to the nations: "Your interests are common and so wrapped up together that each nation serves its own interest best which seeks the interest of all." Twice the nations have come together at The Hague and discussed the welfare common to them all. It was a new thing in the world. It promised a new era for humanity. In the Palace is a beautiful chamber for these future meetings of the world. Here the idea of a co-operative world was growing, here a new patriotism was being born—a world patriotism, a love of humanity as well as love of country. The present war has many of its roots in a narrow patriotism and an exaggerated emphasis of nationality. Each nation has felt that its only hope of a voice in the world was in emphasis

of its own individuality. Its patriotism has half consisted of contempt for other peoples. A book has recently been published with quotations from French and German school textbooks. When one sees what French boys are taught about Germans and German boys about France he wonders that war between France and Germany is not perennial. In each nation the advance of that nation to a place in the world is emphasized a hundred times more than the general welfare of humanity. Each nation thinks its only development commercially must be at the expense of other nations. Each nation thinks of its own interests as separated entirely from the rest of the world. But the nations are learning through awful lessons that no nation can live to itself alone any more than can any man. The nations have learned that a quarrel between *two* nations means that ten have to pass through purgatory. They are learning that the welfare of one is not through the blind pursuance of a *national* ideal or the seeking of *national* rights. After this war is over they have got to come together—a group of maimed, crippled, impoverished nations—and sit around a table and settle *together* what *each* shall gain or lose.* How much better it

*The meeting of the nations to discuss the terms of peace in the Peace Palace at The Hague is a possibility worthy of careful consideration.

The Peace Palace at the Hague 69

would have been if they had held this meeting before the war! They would have accomplished all and even more than they now can gain individually at one-millionth the cost. I believe they will see this. I believe that The Hague Conferences will go on, not only as before, but with greatly broadened scope. For I believe that the world is learning that an isolated and excessive nationalism is unworkable and impossible, and is also learning that the world is *one*.

Lesson
The War

In the same way The Hague Palace stands for mutual *frankness* and *openness* among nations. It calls them to come together in trust and confidence to openly discuss the common problems of the nations. Everybody has felt that one of the sources of the present war is the mutual distrusts and jealousies among the various European countries. Germany has been suspicious of Russia. France and England have been suspicious of Germany. Germany has distrusted England and England has been suspicious of German motives. Russia has been suspicious of Austrian designs on the Balkans, and so the eternal round of suspicion has gone on. The declarations of any one country have not been believed by the others. No disavowal of flagrant designs has been more than half believed. This suspicion, this fear of

attack, this seeing of sinister motive in every word and act, has bred a state of panic, and largely led to vast armaments. It is an atmosphere that breeds war—always will breed it. I believe that the nations will some day see the folly of it, and will say, "The Hague idea is better. Let us meet in frequent conferences. Let us be perfectly frank and open in our conversations. Let the ideals of every nation be frankly discussed at these meetings. Let us learn to trust each other as decent men trust each other." Indeed a frequent conference of nations at The Hague would make underhanded projects impossible. They would rise to the surface. But as a matter of fact half of the suspicions are ungrounded. Frequent conferences will make this manifest. I believe that the world will see that The Hague ideal is best and will accept it.

Finally, *The Hague stands for federation of the nations, some form of world organization and a League of Peace.* A federation of the world lies as yet far off. World organization must be a gradual process. But I believe that some form of a League of Peace as originally suggested by Mr. Carnegie at St. Andrew's in 1905 would receive serious consideration by the nations at the close of this war. Each nation declares that it did not desire war. Each

The Peace Palace at the Hague 71

nation says that it was dragged into the war. Innocent nations have suffered from the war. A League of Peace would protect all of these protesting nations and perhaps now that they have seen that none of the present forms of diplomacy, none of the existing agencies, not even vast armaments can protect them or save them from the war, they will turn to the League of Peace idea where the great nations—as many as will—can league themselves together to keep the peace, can all disarm to that point where a minimum extent of armament only is necessary as a police force, and have headquarters, a central bureau at the Peace Palace at The Hague. I believe the nations of Europe will be so sick of war forever that they will readily accept an invitation to gather at the Palace to consider this first step in the federation of the world for peace.

No, do not worry over the fate of the Peace Palace. It is a great thing that it is there. It will yet be the home of the nations. Far back in the Middle Ages great hordes from the north overran Italy. On one of the hills near Orvieto stood a great monastery. The story goes that the armies swept down upon the monastery and demolished its walls and drove its inhabitants far and wide. Only the altar was left standing and at night after the armies had gone

on their way, one solitary monk who had concealed himself among the rocks, one who loved the place and had great faith, crept forth, and poured oil into the lamp before the altar, which had not gone out. Day after day, year after year, he found his way up to the ruined temple and filled the lamp. In after years the monks came back. The chapel rose again in beauty around the altar. The lamp had never once gone out. Year after year it waited, burning. Around its eternal fire the new structure rose. The light of The Hague is there, burning. To it the scattered peoples will come back and around it rear the new temple of the nations.

VIII

THE TERMS OF PEACE

THE war must end sometime even if only from sheer exhaustion. The probability is that before many months some nation will be suing for peace, and if one can trust the signs of the times there are many people in every nation ready to urge the acceptance of peace upon their governments. But when peace comes it should be a *real* peace, not an armed truce again, such as that under which Europe has been living the last fifty years. It is toward this end that all pacifists should now be bending their efforts. All peace organizations should be educating the people toward it. It is here that the Church must play the greatest part she has ever played and speak unitedly throughout all the world. She must say once and for all: "This must be the last war between Christian nations."

The whole accursed thing is contrary to real Christianity and has no part with Jesus Christ. It is simply the crime of Cain multiplied a million-fold. It contradicts every word

of Christ and makes his religion the butt of the sceptic and the scoffer. It destroys the civilization built up by patient labours in his name. It inflicts unspeakable sufferings on his little children. It must stop forever. The Church should say these words at the close of the war and insist on them even though she lose the favour and protection of the great and the mighty and become outcast with God's poor, as she was in Christ's time. Indeed I am not sure that the time has not come, after this awful denial of religion by the rulers of the world, for the Church to excommunicate every man who takes up a sword. It should speak to every ruler in the words and with the authority Christ used when he said to Peter: "Put up thy sword." If they refuse to listen let both ruler and Church take the consequences. One thing is certain, if the political and social order under which this present primeval chaos has come, is allowed to go right on after the nations have come up out of Hell again, with the sulphur smells of hatred, revenge, lust, and brutality clinging to their garments, the persistence of Christ's Church is very uncertain. Under the old order of armed truce, peace kept by guns and fears, secret diplomacies, absolute monarchies, this same thing will come again as soon as the nations can recover. Perhaps too the whole

East will be drawn in. (Europe is now engaged in showing China and Japan how to do it.) But it cannot come many times more without putting the very existence of Christ's Church in jeopardy. Indeed it has not escaped some observant minds in Europe that for ten years before the war came, during the armed truce—guns were overtopping gospel, armament was much more in evidence than churches. It was only three years ago that a gentleman in Berlin remarked: "We don't need God, we've got guns," and we have heard in Paris for several years the cry, "Vive l'armée," a hundred times to "Vive l'Eglise" once. Now is the time for the Church to be preparing to speak as she has never spoken before and demand the terms of peace. These terms must be as follows:

First, *that the future political order of Europe be based on law, justice, and good-will rather than on armaments, guns, powder and brute force.* There must be an *end of militarism forever.* The nations must be compelled to disarm to that point where they will not be a constant menace to each other. It is probable that even that weak thing diplomacy might have prevented the last war had not all the nations been ready, and been preparing for it for years. No nation must ever be allowed to arm again to such an extent that her armament

becomes a menace to another nation, neither should any nation be allowed to force other nations to arm, by piling up great swollen armaments herself. This whole militaristic business has proved a sham and humbug. That armament makes for peace has been proved forever a lie and a delusion. That the nations should expect to get peace by preparing for war, no sensible man, in the light of what we have seen, can ever say again. Let the Church insist that no terms of peace be accepted which do not utterly abolish militarism and armament as the basis of civilization and guarantee of peace.

2. Secondly, that every nation be compelled to sign a treaty agreeing that if it have a dispute with another nation it will take it before the International Court of Arbitral Justice or some important tribunal for adjudication. Several of the nations are ready to do this. The others must be compelled to do it. Such a tribunal exists at The Hague. A court of justice can easily be created (the second Hague Conference voted to establish it). An international navy could carry out the compulsion and see that the decree was adhered to, were that necessary. Or a league of Peace could be formed to execute these projects. The great thing is that no nation which will not sign such a treaty

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ought to be allowed to reap any of the benefits of the new peace.

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Thirdly, that no more alliances, triple, quadruple or even dual be allowed among nations; and that "the balance of power" principle, having proved an utter failure, be abandoned forever. If Germany had not been allied to Austria, and France allied to Russia, Germany would not have taken the peculiar interest she did in Austria's ultimatum to Serbia, neither would France have been interested in the local quarrel had she not been tied up with Russia. It is all mischievous and productive of the disaster we have seen. It will produce it again. Rather, in the new partitioning of Europe, let the lines be drawn by race and then let each country and race stand by itself, its independence guaranteed by the compulsory treaties mentioned above and the International Force, or the League of Peace.

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4. Fourthly, that the present secret diplomacy of Europe be ended forever. The coming of democracy, of which I shall speak in a moment, will end that. But that may not come as soon as we hope. Most people are fools and even this awful war may find them ready at the end to go right back to Russia, Germany and Austria and be cattle again. But this is worthy of careful thought. The people of Europe had

not the slightest idea that they were being plunged into war until mobilization was ordered. A handful—perhaps twenty-four men—plunged Europe into war, regardless of the will of the people.

M. Finally, the Church must strive to its utmost to help that group in every European land, which is seeking some voice in the government, to fulfil its high ambitions. There is really no lasting hope for peace except in democracy. I do not believe that all Europe would now be writhing in the tortures of the damned had the people been consulted in this war. It is a very noticeable fact that in the record of correspondence between the five Powers now involved in the war, it was the two democratic governments that worked valiantly for peace to the bitter end, urging a conference and arbitration, while it was the three governments in which the people have little voice and were not even consulted during that eventful week, which looked with disfavour on a conference or arbitration. The best friend of Russia, Germany and Austria to-day, he who will save the peoples of these nations from such dire calamities in the future, is he who does most to secure for them a republican form of government based upon the American model, but even going further in the matter of waging

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war, and demanding that no war be waged except by vote of the people. Let the Church become again the friend of the people. There has been a complaint in France that the Roman Catholic Church has never heartily sympathized with the Republic. Surely the new Pope will see that there is no hope for that peace for which seemingly he so greatly longs, except in democracy. If the two great branches of the Christian Church would now, both in official councils and in press and pulpit, insist that there be no settlement after this war in which the voice of those peoples seeking self-government shall not hereafter find full expression, it will have dictated the terms of lasting peace.

IX

THE WAR AND AGNOSTICISM

ONE of the deplorable results of the present war is that it is shaking the faith of so many good men. I have been made more and more aware of this from following the European religious papers somewhat carefully, as well as from certain conversations I recently had with Europeans. In America there are many signs of it. Editors are receiving letters that reveal the struggle of many minds. How can such horrible things happen in a world ruled by a loving God who is at the same time omnipotent? Christianity has failed. It has not power to achieve the dream set forth by its Founder if this is all it can bring forth after 2,000 years—chaos, lust, murder multiplied a million-fold. The Church seems to have no real influence in the world. "It can stop a few children from playing cards or dancing, and make a few old people happy with psalm singing" (I am quoting here), "but when any real thing comes that calls to men

to be beasts, the Church is as powerless as a little baby. She can deal with a few inconsequential peccadilloes, but when it comes to any real sin like this wholesale murder, this orgy of passion, this reversion of men to devils, which we are witnessing now, she might as well not be." "Does it not look as if the devil were after all stronger than God?" some are asking. A great wave of atheism and agnosticism follows every war. The signs are that it will be more mountainous than ever in this cruellest war of history.

And the pity of it is that so many who are feeling these things are men who have been connected with our churches—even ministers. In a recent issue of "The Christian World" one minister is quoted as having said, "I can never preach again," and one of the most pathetic letters I have ever read is in another issue of the same paper and from the pen of one of England's best known writers and clergymen. It was only last week that I was talking with a physician of our acquaintance, a man of distinctly religious temperament and a churchman. He said that he had lost all faith in human nature after witnessing the carnage, cruelties, the atrocities, the fiendish joy of killing and destroying, the hatreds in deed and word, of this present war. He had

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also concluded that since it was Christians who were waging this war and Christian churches backing it, he would drop that name. "I think I am becoming simply an agnostic," he said. "I cannot understand; I do not know. But I cannot see that religion has any influence whatever over men when the real crisis comes." I myself in company with other delegates to Constance who saw France and Germany burst into passion, was tempted with these same thoughts for a while. One of the greatest men in England said to me, when the news came that England had finally entered the lists, "The world has come to an end." It was easy to believe it for a moment.

Key (But my faith is clear and strong again now, and I want to take this opportunity to plead with every Christian to cling to his faith now as never before and to attach himself to Christ more closely than ever. There is a passage in John's Gospel which tells us that many disciples, having become disappointed that the kingdom did not come at once in power, and believing that Christ's ideals were beyond all practicality, deserted him. He then turned to the twelve and with pathetic words asked: "And will ye also go away?" They answered, "No, Lord, we will not go away." That should be the answer of every Christian to-day. At

this time, when so many Christians are losing heart and faith, one can almost hear Christ, broken-hearted as he is over the apostasy of Europe, and over the desertion of so many of his followers, even in America, calling to us who are his professed disciples: "Will ye also go away?" Let us answer, "No, Lord, we will not turn back; we will not lose faith; we will not go away."

For it is when so many disciples are turning back that Christ most needs us. Then, too, there is no real reason for loss of faith. God is in heaven, although all is not right with the world. When all this carnage is over God will be on his throne waiting to aid his faithful in their redemption of the world. This thing has happened again and again in history. Men thought that the world had come to an end and civilization had failed in Napoleon's day. This war will stop some time, and then God will need the faithful ones who believe in justice and brotherhood, good-will and co-operation as the basis of civilization, rather than armament, powder, brute force and war.

Then why should we lose faith in God? God has not done this thing. It is of the devil and of devilish men. It is all contrary to the will and wish of God. If men were mere puppets he could restrain their actions. But they

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are his children, and if they prefer to turn away, wound him, oppose themselves to him, he cannot prevent it. But when they do, we who love him should offer our sympathy to him, and our services and our devotion as at no other time. It were cruel for us also to go away at such a time.

Also one should never desert the right or lose his enthusiasm for it though all the rest of the world turn away from it. For majorities do not prove what is right or wrong. If with Jesus Christ we believe that justice, brotherhood, love are the right relationships of Christians, let us stand by Christ though he fail absolutely and utterly. If Christianity is true let us remain Christian though all the world go after the devil and fall down and worship him.

But, beyond this, there are many rays of hope rising out of this awful cataclysm which may well help the Christian to keep his faith. Thousands of even those forced into this war are tired and weary of the whole war business. I speak whereof I know. I have come to this conclusion not only from books, papers and hearsay, but from observation and conversation in Europe. I believe that a number far exceeding that we dream of will be ready to say with us Americans: "It is time this whole busi-

ness of armament and war was stopped forever; it is time that civilization was based on law and justice rather than on militarism; there must be a new political order if this is the best the present can bring forth." Furthermore, unless all signs fail, there will be born out of this war a movement toward democracy far exceeding anything Russia, Germany and Austria have known. I believe the world will be ready as it never has been before to listen to those who propose a supreme court of nations, arbitration treaties, a code of international law, a closer federation of the world, and a league of the peaceful nations to enforce these things. They are seeing to-day in Europe as we have seen in America that law is better than war, justice better than force, gospel better than guns, in the settling of international disputes. It was very significant that one of the greatest of the New York dailies should have remarked the other day that the world which has been wont to poke fun at the pacifist is now beginning to say that apparently he was right. Yes, I believe that the world is learning, though it be through unspeakable sufferings, that the peace man was right after all. Be assured he will be listened to, even in Europe, when the day dawns. Let us keep our faith. When Jesus asks us, "Will ye also go away?" let us say,

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"Never, because the great day of the Lord may be nearer than ever."

Then let us who belong to the inner circle of the Lord, who have lived with him in the intimacy of the Twelve, who compose his Church, not only keep our faith, but be preparing ourselves in every way to speak the word which this war is perhaps preparing the world to hear. Let the Church speak with an authority it has never used before, let it claim that authority from its Lord, and when the nations gather to discuss the terms of peace let it say to them: "We will have no peace that contradicts Jesus Christ and his Gospel. We will have no peace which is simply the armed truce of the past forty years over again. You must make a peace based on the eternal laws of God, on justice, Christian brotherhood, and the sacredness of human life. If you are going to call yourselves Christians you must put Christianity above patriotism, humanity above nationalism, the Christian community above individualism. You must establish a court of justice and agree to take all your disputes to it. You must interpret Christianity in terms of good-will rather than of force. If you are to call yourselves Christians you must sink national ambitions in the good of the whole world, as Christian men have learned to sink personal ambition in

the good of the community. You must give the people—for are they not God's children, dear to him?—a voice in determining these questions that concern the happiness and life of millions. Above all, you must, as Christian nations, regulate your actions by those same fundamental principles of Christianity that govern the conduct of all Christian men."

X

THE WAR AND OUR HOME DUTIES

IT is difficult to think of anything now but the great war. The first four pages of our daily paper are full of it, and its horrors harrow our very souls. We go to our work every day with our minds so full of the suffering of the world that it is even hard to perform the daily round of office, store or factory duties. On our way to church we are greeted with bulletins which linger with us throughout the service. The great headlines of the evening papers stare at us across the cars. One cannot pass a group of men without hearing the word war. Our minds are full of war, our hearts are breaking over it. We read of it all day, and we dream of it all night. We in America are suffering with those who are suffering in Europe. We are learning something of what Christ's agony was in the Garden of Gethsemane when, innocent himself, he had to share the sin of the world. The war is filling all our lives.

While this is inevitable, a great danger threatens us right at this point, namely, that on account of all this preoccupation of our mind and heart we may neglect certain primary and necessary duties here at home. There are three or four things with which we must not let the war or our sympathies with the awful suffering of the world interfere. There are certain things that must be done, certain work that must go on for our own sakes. Furthermore, they must go on for the sake of the world. Some day—let us hope soon—the United States may be called upon to mediate between the warring Powers. She is the one great Power not in the war, the one great nation acceptable to all nations. She may have to become a court of justice for the nations. To be this mediating nation she must preserve her own strength and integrity. She must be both pure and peaceable. She must have all her faculties at the highest. She must be ready to undertake great things. Consequently we must not let our absorption in the war betray us into neglect of our home duties.

First of all, we must not let our schools suffer from this universal possession of the children's minds by the war. One of the most lamentable things of the whole affair is that the boys of America are being fed day and night

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with pages of slaughter, lust and hatred. It is going to be hard to get their minds on study and to hold them to consecutive work. But now as never before should all the energy of parent and teacher be bent upon the accomplishment of this thing. The work of the world for twenty years has got to be done by America. Europe will be so burdened by poverty that the next generation will be practically uneducated. Our boys should be better trained than ever. We hear that some schools are contemplating study of the war by the pupils under "current events." We think this is a great mistake. We would rather recommend that every effort be made to get the pupils' minds off the war. Keep the mind on the regular work more than ever that we may train strong men for America's great task.

Our church work is also apt to suffer from this universal engrossment in the miserable fortunes of our neighbours. Not only are our minds full of war all the week, but on Sundays it is the chief topic of the pulpit. This is as it should be, for if ever there was anything in which the whole Church is concerned it is this war. The danger is that other imperative things, immediate tasks, will be neglected. There is the question of Christian unity. If there is anything in the world that should be

pushed at just this moment it is the unity of the churches. The Church is going to play a great part in the stopping of this war and a great part in the consideration of what the new order of the world shall consist of after the war is over. For this we need a united Church, one which can speak with unanimous voice, with a nation-wide authority. Now is the time above all others to strengthen the hands of the Federal Council of Churches. Now every local Federation of Churches should meet and talk closer federation. Now is the time the denominational commissions on Christian unity should meet together and consider heartier co-operation. And if the Commission on Faith and Order of the Episcopal Church must abandon its work in Europe for a while, it should press its unifying efforts in America with greater zeal than ever. Perhaps the world has never looked to the Church for some great, authoritative word as it will look to it in this time of crisis.

Again, we of the Church must not let the war interfere with our work with the immigrant. The United States is the great peace society. The sons of every nation now at war are citizens, side by side, in our own land. Everything should be done to cement these various nationalities into a harmonious whole. Perhaps the

ultimate lesson of peace may be learned by Europe from witnessing her sons living here in kindest unity and friendliest co-operation. Professor Edward A. Steiner has so strikingly put this present duty of America in a recent issue of *The Congregationalist* that I cannot forbear quoting it here:

"This generation of American citizens has never had such an opportunity to become conscious of its blessings as it has now. While the Old World is rocking with the shock of war, while many of the nations involved have to face not only the foe from without, but alienated, unassimilated subjects, who will either refuse to fight or give but half-hearted support to their rulers, the United States of America has never been more united, more vitally one, than now. It has two possible foes to face—neither of them from without, both of them from within. One of them is the struggle between capital and labour, with its sharpening of class consciousness until it may become a two-edged sword liable to hurt not only the contending forces, but the vital life of the nation. The other is the growth of race prejudice, which may be strengthened rather than weakened by the present conflict in Europe. We have a Monroe Doctrine, which justly excludes foreign Powers from getting a foot-

hold upon this continent. We also have a Christ Doctrine, which includes humanity, as the other excludes governments. The sympathy of the American people must be with the people—with all the people who have been suddenly hurled from twentieth century civilization into primitive barbarism, from peaceful labours into deadly conflict, from severe struggle into deeper poverty. Victory or defeat for one or the other of the contending armies will bring little or no blessing to the people who suffer, bleed and die; except as it may open the eyes of those who survive to the brutality of war, its waste, its uselessness. It is now time to emphasize our American unity in spite of our diversity, to glory in it; to be careful not to transplant and propagate the Old World hate upon this newer continent; to realize that the United States must become a world server, and the Stars and Stripes in some form a world flag. We must also realize that the men who are to carry this gospel of unity are working in the mines and shops, and that the hands which are to hold up that flag are consecrated to hard and dangerous toil in our midst. As we deal with them we deal with the world, we deal with humanity. Now is the most auspicious moment to begin a holy war against war, and this is the

one country in which may be forged the strongest weapon against it—a *consciousness of our common likeness—a realization of our Brotherhood.*”

Finally, there is the question of missions. Most pitiable tales are coming from England and Germany. There is no money in either country now to support missionary societies. Their work is going to rack and ruin. Many of the missionaries have even been drafted into the war. This is one of the calamitous results of the war, that missions will be set back for years. It is even being asked both abroad and in the United States, What Christianity have these warring nations got that they have the effrontery to offer it to other peoples? If it can bring forth only intensest hatreds and slaughter of men by the million, of what good is it to heathen lands? But, thank God, the United States is free of spot so far as this charge is concerned. It is her duty now to push her missionary work with tenfold zeal. Not only should she sustain splendidly her own work, but she might well take over the highly developed stations of the British and German societies and prevent the gains of many years being lost. This would be one of those supreme pieces of Christian farsightedness that stand

out in history. For the sake of Christ and his children in other lands let us not neglect this great obligation because of the din of war which at present drowns all other voices.

XI

CHOOSE YE THIS DAY WHOM THOU WILT SERVE

TO every nation there come crises when a choice has *immediately* to be made of a course of action, a plan of life, a philosophy of conduct, on which hangs the whole future, and which determines the character of the nation for years, if not forever. Such a crisis was that when the nation had to choose between whether it should be "all free" or "half free and half slave." It chose to be "all free," and the united, free, prosperous country was determined by that choice. We should have been an absolutely different sort of nation had we made the other choice. But the point is that a crisis came and we had to meet it immediately. "*This day* choose whom thou wilt serve." How thankful every American is that the nation chose the course which it did.

This nation is now very rapidly being forced into another crisis where another great choice has got to be made, and made immediately.

The issue is being so emphatically pushed that to us again come the words of the old prophet, “Choose you *this day* whom ye will serve.”

And I am not sure but that the choice is as momentous as that made sixty years ago. We have got to choose, and that at once, whether we shall be a nation devoted to the arts of peace, cultivating industry and education, developing our great resources of both men and materials, and relying largely upon our character and good-will toward all people as a means of defence, or whether we shall follow in the paths of the toppling European nations and become imperialistic, base our civilization on the sword and trust in great navies and armies for national defence.

That choice is being very rapidly forced upon us, and all men to whom the future of their country is dear should be seriously considering on which side they are going to throw their vote. The crisis is being forced by four classes of people. First and chiefly, by men interested in military matters, men who are immersed in militarism and who have no faith in any other basis of civilization than force or any other kind of defence than guns. The second group is composed of politicians who are seizing this opportunity to try to discredit President Wilson, who has already in his superb message

called upon the nation to choose the American ideal rather than the European. The third group is composed of those who profit by war and preparation for war. How active this particular group has been in America I do not know. It is well known that they had much to do with bringing this present awful war upon Europe. It is hard to believe that there are men in the world who would plunge the nations into hell to make money; but, as Dr. David Starr Jordan and others have recently shown, there is incontrovertible evidence that this is so. There is undoubtedly a group in America *interested* in securing "adequate" preparation for war. The fourth group is composed of those admirable but timid people who have been frightened by this European war, and who have not the logical ability to see that it is just what they are urging that caused the war in Europe. Nothing truer has been uttered in a long time than Mr. Bryan's words at Richmond, where, referring to the fact that it was the preparedness for war that helped Europe into war, he said, "Preparedness will almost with absolute certainty lead you into war." But these good people forget this in their fear that Japan or Germany, if she is victorious, will invade America. Of these good people, in their hysterical state, we can only say what

Defense causes war
Mr. J

Mr. Carnegie said in his New Year's message: "Meanwhile let us pity and forgive those who urge increased armaments, for 'they know not what they do.' "

This company of men, composed of these four groups, have begun an active campaign to force this nation to abandon the American ideal and to adopt the European ideal of big armies and navies. They are organizing groups throughout the country, they are holding mass meetings; they have a body of trained agents at Washington, and are carrying on an energetic agitation in the press. They have prominent men going up and down the country who are trying to frighten the nation by vivid pictures of invasion by imaginary foes. They are calling for investigations of the army and navy and our coast defences. Some want a vast army on the basis of Germany's. Some have even urged conscription. Many are urging the introduction of military training into our schools and colleges. All are interested in increasing armament and following after the European ideal of basing national defence upon force; all are urging "preparedness for war," forgetting the European lesson that "you always get what you prepare for."

Before making the choice, which is evidently

going to be forced upon us as a nation, every American ought to consider well what it would mean. Great and lasting issues are bound up in it. In the first place, it means that *two other nations are going to have their suspicions aroused against us*. Let no one be deceived; this sudden desire of arming America is directed against Japan and Germany. Indeed, those who are urging it openly say so. At the first meeting of the National Security League in New York one of the leaders of the movement spent ten minutes graphically picturing what might happen to America if a certain nation won, and everybody knew he meant Germany. Already this movement has had effect in Germany, and she has not liked it. It therefore means that when this war ceases two nations, Japan and Germany, will not be as friendly to our mediation as they might have been. Of all times in the world to have begun this insane agitation for armament this present critical, sensitive, nervous hour was the worst.

It means plunging other nations into a competitive armament immediately. America has so far kept out of the armament race. If now the Navy League and the militarists plunge us into it, it means that Japan, Brazil, Argentina, Canada and the rest are all going to build

No independent
method on other
side!

"Choose Ye this Day—"

101

Just as hard and fast as do we. And why should they not, inasmuch as they know it is directed against them?

A part of the program of this ardent group of militarists on which they lay great stress is the introduction into our public schools and colleges of military training and instruction in shooting. Do the parents realize what that means? If they do not, let them go to the psychologists. It means that all our boys are to grow up with their imaginations turned toward war. It means that they are to grow up in the atmosphere of the camp, and learn martial music, martial terms and martial principles. It means that guns are going to hold first place in their thoughts as a means of settling international disputes, instead of justice and arbitration. It means that they are going to grow up with the constant thought before them that men of other lands are not their brothers, but *natural enemies*. For when boys are trained to shoot you have got to train them to shoot something. As a matter of fact, in military training human forms are used as targets. Professor Vernon Lee Kellogg, of Leland Stanford University, says in "Beyond War" that he found soldiers among the California woods shooting at targets made in the form of men and remarkably resembling Japanese. That is

what military drill is going to mean, fathers and mothers. It is going to change the whole character, the whole idealism of the next generation. It is going to give us a new type of American—the military, Prussian type, instead of the industrial, cosmopolitan, democratic type.

Again, let us never forget that *militarism is the eternal foe of democracy*. Every increase of army or navy is a direct blow in the face of democracy. Democracy is the diffusion of power among the people. Every increase in armament centralizes that power in the hands of the government; in most countries in the hand of a few officers of the government. Many who are urging vast navies and big armies on the country know this, and it is their fear of democracy more than their fear of outside enemies that actuates their frenzied appeal. It is time for the United States to take warning. Every battleship, every soldier, means so much more autocracy, so much less democracy. Militarism and democracy cannot exist together. Remember how helpless the German people were in the Zabern incident last year. We happen to have a President at Washington who believes in diffusion of power. We can conceive of a man being President centralizing the national power in himself. If he has a great army and navy what can the

Militarism and Democracy
can not co-exist

people do or say? Every new soldier means an advance toward that.

Finally, remember that in the making of this choice America settles for good, or for long time at least, whether she will pursue the new way in which she has been walking, or shall follow in the footsteps of the Old World and become as Germany and Russia and the rest. For here again we should not be misled. *Most* of these men who are urging adequate armament mean armament like Europe's. Also, the thing grows. A beginning means a tendency. A tendency soon swells into a fulfilment. We have been free from the whole accursed business over here. We have put our trust in our justice to all people, our good-will, our desire to be friendly and steal no one's country or possessions. Our defence has been our character, and our armament, the friendly treaties of arbitration with all people. Our energies and ambitions have gone into industry, education, social betterment, agricultural development, the making free and happy a great people, building up a brotherhood, in kindliness, out of all the races and nations in our midst. This is not only our defence; it is our uniqueness. It is what makes us truly great in the eyes of all the nations. The choice the Navy League, the National Security League, the militarists,

the people who are crying for adequate and increased armament are forcing upon us is between this new American ideal and the European ideals. Remember to what thing the ideals of Europe have brought them when you make your choice.

XII

SHALL AMERICA PATTERN AFTER EUROPE?

THERE has lately arisen in the United States a group of men who are leaving no stone unturned to urge the United States to follow in the footsteps of the Old World and base its civilization upon armaments, guns, a vast navy and a huge army. They are endeavouring to turn the minds of our people from industrialism and that high idealism which has marked the growth of our people, to militarism and the preparations for war. They would have our people whose minds have been on thoughts of peace, turn now to thoughts of war. They want an increased army and navy, new lines of fortifications, our people trained to shoot their brothers, and some are systematically urging the introduction of military drill into our schools and colleges.

This group is composed of four classes. First, there are the officers and ex-officers of the army and navy. Their business is with guns and they can see no other greatness for a nation

than to have big guns, and no other basis of safety or defence than in guns. They are conspicuous backers of the Navy League, Uncle Sam's Safety League, and other organizations formed to urge this philosophy. The second class is composed of those who profit by war and the preparation for war—manufacturers of powder, guns, and armaments, and the builders of battleships. Their activities are illusive, but after the revelations in Europe which have shown how feverishly this class of men worked to bring on this present war—willing to plunge Europe into this hell to make a few dollars—there can be no doubt of their activity here. The third class is composed of those politicians who are taking part in the fight against President Wilson's peace policies as outlined in his splendid message, simply to discredit and embarrass his administration. The fourth class in this group urging the nation to arm is composed of those hysterical people who have been stampeded with fear by the present war. Forgetting that it is militarism and trust in armament that has precipitated the war in Europe, they would have us arm to defend ourselves against the danger of invasion by Germany, should she prove victorious.

In the light of this agitation for increased armament I should like to ask the people of

Shall America follow Europe? 107

this nation if they have at all considered what brought on this collapse of civilization in Europe and plunged twelve countries into this unparalleled disaster? I had the fortune or misfortune to be in Europe the week preceding the war, and for a week after the war began. I came across from Germany the day she was mobilizing her great army. I was in France the week preceding the war. I was in England several days after the war broke out. One conclusion was irresistibly forced upon me as I believe it was upon almost every American who was in Europe last summer, namely, that vast armament was one of the direct and immediate causes of this war. For forty years Europe has been basing her civilization upon force. She has said that force, guns, armament, dynamite, powder and shells were the only things that gave a nation prestige, the only things that made a nation a power in the world, or its voice listened to, the only defence of a nation against its enemies. They have all said that armaments were the things that "could preserve the peace of Europe." Everywhere one turns in Europe guns are more conspicuous than pulpits, soldiers more conspicuous than school teachers, arms more in evidence than churches. One nation has spent \$12 on preparation for war to every \$1 on religion and

Armaments
cause

education put together. As a result of this philosophy of defence and peace, Europe became a vast powder magazine and, as a consequence, when a half-crazed Servian threw a match into it, it went off. Powder always does go off one time or another. A great Englishman remarked to us that he had come to feel that when armament reaches a certain point, it goes off by spontaneous combustion. It has gone off in Europe. If after this war the nations go back to the same business it will go off again.

And now when I see a group of men urging our nation to follow in the footsteps of these older, ruined, collapsed powers, I tremble for it. I wonder if they are blind, that they cannot see. I cannot believe they realize what they are doing. For if they prevail the same cataclysm awaits us. There is not one law for Europe and another for America. And of all times in the world, this is the most fraught with danger to be talking of increasing armament. President Wilson, being a statesman, realizes the awful tension under which all the world is just now living, and is trying to avert it. For any such agitation just now is bound to be construed as directed against either Japan or Germany, or both. As a matter of fact these alarmists are naming these two nations only as the objects of their fears. The result is that

the Japanese are becoming suspicious of us, made so by all this talk. The founders of the National Security League at their initial meeting drew graphic pictures of a "victorious nation invading this country"—everybody knew they meant Germany. That goes to Germany and our voice in the settlement after this war loses influence in just that degree.

And what a pity it is that just when there is only one great nation to whom Europe can turn for counsel and leadership; only one great nation to which the peace workers of Europe can turn for leadership, that we should find our mouths dumb, our position of leadership gone, because we had become even as they are, and had no word to say. For how can we say: "Get rid of militarism, disarm," if we are arming as fast as we can, and beating them in their own miserable reliance on force and guns?

In the light of these facts every American ought to rise and insist that America be true to her proved national ideals, keep in the new way she has chosen rather than suddenly throw them all to the winds, and follow after that Old World way that has proved such a miserable failure. Let America show the world that character, a reputation for justice, friendliness to all nations, help to weaker powers, good-will to all peoples is the best defence of a nation as

well as its real source of power. Our voice in the world is not measured by our guns. Our safety does not depend upon our navy, but upon our reputation.

No one can have lived even for a little time in Europe without having had it borne in upon him that the suspicion which each nation entertained toward all the other nations was the prime cause of the war now devastating Europe. This suspicion had become an inescapable atmosphere—a poisonous miasma breathed by everybody. Every German one met was suspicious of England, Russia, and France. England was preparing to invade Germany, Russia was scheming to block her in the East, and France was secretly plotting to seize Alsace-Lorraine. Every Englishman one met was suspicious of the designs of Germany. Germany was building her great navy to invade England. Every Frenchman one met was suspicious of Germany. Germany was only waiting for the day to come when she could sweep France out of her ambitious path. About five years ago I was in the library of a well-known American, when a young Englishman was shown in. He had a card of introduction to my friend from an official holding high office in the English government. He said: "I have been sent, Mr. ———, to tell you that we have

Shall America follow Europe? 111

unmistakable evidence that Germany is preparing as fast as she can to invade England, and we want the sympathy and backing of the American people." He had hardly spoken the words when a distinguished editor of an American magazine came in, and almost the first words he said were: "I have had an interesting experience in Germany. Just before leaving I called on several men close to the Court, and they all said: 'Mr. ———, we have unmistakable evidence that England is planning to attack Germany soon, and we want the sympathy and backing of the American people.' " This was five years ago!

This suspicion has been constantly fanned in every nation, until the peoples had become hysterical, and any slight event threw them into a panic. There were certain newspapers which made it their business to keep these suspicions alive. Books were written which aimed to intensify it. In Germany, such books as Bernhardt's constantly dwelt upon the designs of England and France against Germany. In England, a play called "An Englishman's Home" was sent from stage to stage throughout the nation. It was the picture of an invasion of an unprepared England by a foreign foe, and the disguise of the soldiers on the stage was not so complete but everyone knew

that Germans had been in the mind of the author. The armament and munition firms did all they could to fan the flames, and even poets were not found wanting to nourish these suspicions in trenchant verse. (Remember Mr. Kipling's disgraceful poem on Russia, which, I imagine, he now greatly regrets.)

Even in the schools, these suspicions have been fairly soaked into the minds of the children. M. Gustav Hervé, in a little book written in 1910, called "My Country, Right or Wrong" (an attack on that sentiment), has collected several extracts from the text books and song books used in the French and German schools. When one reads them, he asks: "What kept Germany and France from going to war long before this?" Speaking of the training of a patriot, he says: "The child can scarcely walk when they give him leaden soldiers, cannon, cardboard forts, a drum, a trumpet, a rifle or a sword bigger than himself, for his Christmas-box. When they can afford it, they dress him up in a hussar or dragoon's uniform, with a nice helmet boasting a handsome mane. At the family table, he hears the old soldiers recall the memories of their old campaigns. . . . And we who have grown up under the third Republic, have we not heard recalled at the family table on each side of the

Rhine memories of the war of 1870? . . . Naturally, when one hears the tale of the old soldier, it is always the enemy, the foreigner, who played the odious part. The child hears all this frequently, and his mind receives from his home education an indelible impression. Before even going to school the urchin already bears in his blood the hatred of the foreigner, national vanity, idolatry of the sword, mystical adoration of the Country. He is already a patriot."

As soon as the child enters school in France, he begins singing songs which exalt his own land and denounce Germany. He sings these lines from Paul Deroulède:

"Forward! the road is wide;
The clarion sounds the charge,
And the zouaves go a-singing;
And up there on the hill,
In the forest which crowns it,
The Prussian is waiting."

The two song books most used in the public schools, one by M. Marmontel, and one by M. Augé, "swarm with songs in which there is no question but of the Country, France, the Flag and the Revanche." When one turns to the history books they seem deliberately calculated to keep alive suspicion of the Germans.

Here are one or two samples of German pa-

triotic songs which the author of a recent school book (M. Ch. Bigot) has gathered, to show the little French scholars how they are hated on the other side of the Rhine! The first is entitled "Where is the Rhine?" and is as follows: "Where is the Rhine?—it flows on German soil. Notice that, you Frenchmen, who understand nothing about geography. And if, by a misfortune, we had not been sleeping during centuries, you would not, you scoundrels, have disputed us the banks of our river.

"To-day we are revenging the shames you have inflicted upon the German people. Our brave boys are on the road, and, sword in hand, they are going to clear our frontiers of Zouaves and Turcos.

"For the German lands you have stolen are Alsace, Lorraine, and Burgundy! O yes! laugh! Go on, laugh! Soon your teeth will chatter with fright!

"We shall take back from you those three provinces; we shall tear them from your claws! We shall re-establish German honour at the cost of French glory, and we shall establish ourselves as masters on both sides of the Rhine."

The other is entitled "About the French" and shows what the little German boys have been taught about the French for many years,

and can anyone wonder that war came quickly last summer!

"You know the old song: 'Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!' We sang that chorus during the long marches, we young men, when practising for the future war. 'Hurrah! hurrah!' We sang that chorus in time of peace; to-day let us sing it again, for there is going to be fighting. Hurrah! then, and let us fall upon the French!

"The old soldiers taught us this song: Hurrah! We are well worth the old ones, I imagine! Let us show it, hurrah! They sang so at Katzbach, at Grossbeeren, at Dennewitz, and whilst singing they fell like a thunderbolt on the French!

"God bless you, old ones! Hurrah! We sing like you, after the old fashion, which is the good fashion, hurrah! And we have already proved it, for we also, at Wissembourg, at Forbach, and at Woerth, have been falling on the French.

"My dear Mr. Frenchman, how are you? Hurrah! Shall you keep quiet and good this time, ha! Hurrah! Whatever you do, braving, defying, deceiving, lying, the devil! you will soon have enough of it. Forward then! Let us fall upon the French!

"Hail, King William, pious and strong hero Hurrah! Thy entire people acclaim thee

Hurrah! Look at us well, and you will see whether we will beat the French.

"Forward! Forward! Let us begin the dance again. Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah! To Paris! Paris is our aim! Our fathers have already been there twice. In our turn we will soon be there. Victory! Let us sing the old chorus: Hurrah! and let us fall upon the French."

"Where is the child's brain," asks M. Hervé, "French or German, that would resist such a suggestion, this systematic glorification of its Country, these unhealthy excitations against the neighbouring Countries? He scarcely can read, he knows little of anything: he knows, however, one thing, which is profoundly imbued in him—that he must be ready to sacrifice his life if his Country orders him to do so.

"To die for one's Country
Is the finest lot,
The one most worthy of envy."

The result of this suspicion has been that no nation in Europe could add a corps to its army, a battleship to its fleet, or move its army a mile without throwing all the other nations into a panic. Is it any wonder, in the face of these obsessions, that the moment one country in Europe made a false step last summer, every nation on the continent began to mobilize its

Curious logic - AT TIMES MOTIVS NEW WORLD
old world radical distinction - AT OTHER TIMES
SET'S AMERICAN FORMING IN SELF-DEFENSE VS NO
difference than Europe

Shall America follow Europe ? 117

army, every nation thought the mobilization of the other was directed against herself?

I am writing this not primarily to call attention to one of the chief causes of the present war, but because it contains a vital lesson for our own country. When I hear anyone in our own land, for the sake of securing increased army and navy appropriations, saying things about Japan, or any other country, that fill the minds of our youth with suspicions about the designs and motives and character of these peoples, I want to say: "My friend, you little realize what you are doing. You are just the man that plunged Europe into this Hell." And when I hear men attempting to gain recruits to National Security Leagues and similar organizations, either because of personal interest in increased armament, or through hysteria, and telling our youth that we must be prepared against whichever nation is victorious in this present war, I tremble with fear, for I have myself seen what just such talk has brought upon Europe. At present there is no disposition to go to war in this country. Indeed, we are so feeling its horrors that we want to see it done with forever. We are all feeling that this should be "The Last War." Nevertheless, it is very easy to stampede a nation, even the United States, into a war, when once this

atmosphere of suspicion is created. And here-
in lies the danger of this present move to in-
crease our armament, and to follow after
Europe, for you cannot persuade this nation
to arm unless the people believe there is some-
thing to arm against, and you cannot convince
them that there is without sowing these sus-
picions. And suspicions always breed war.

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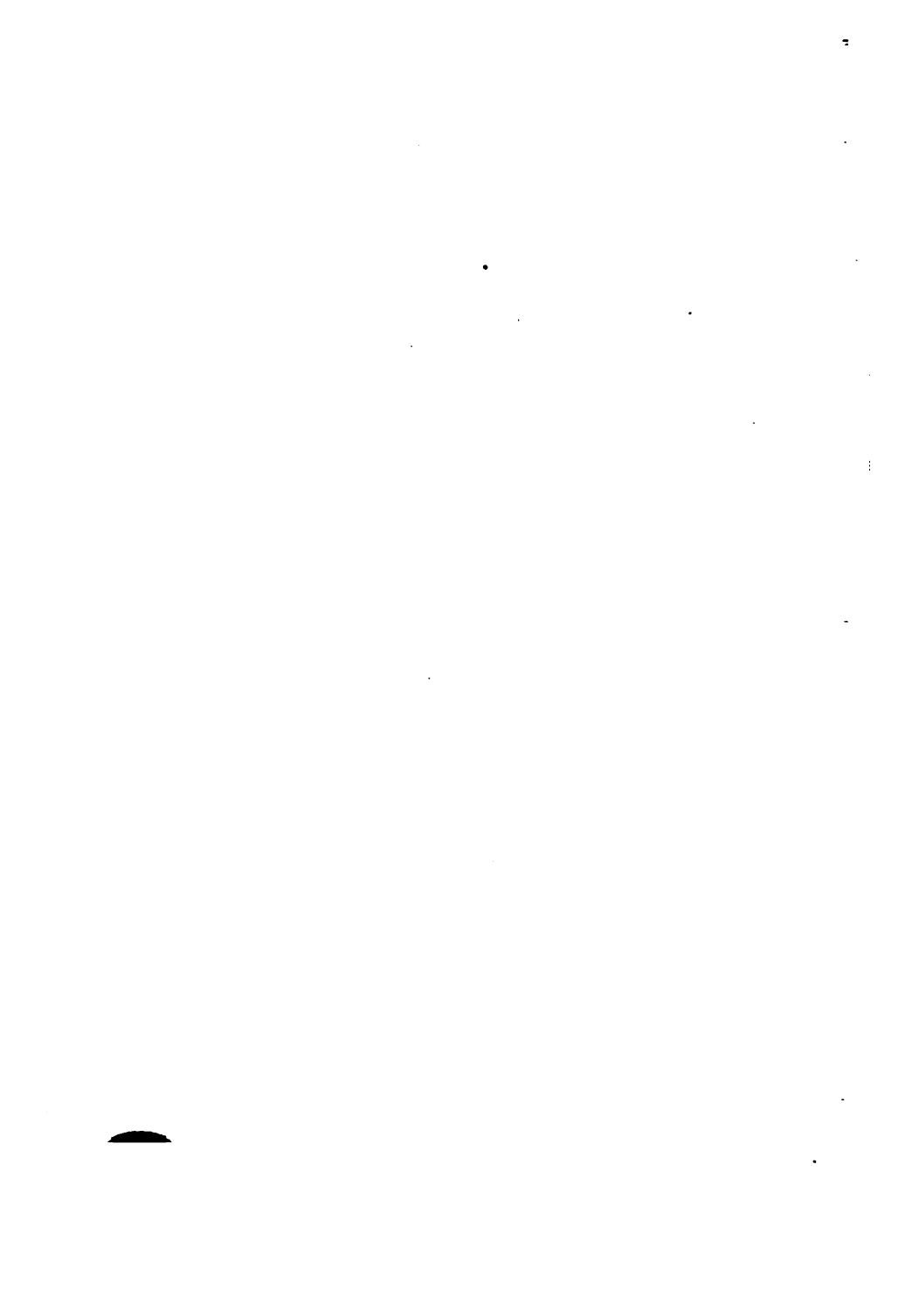
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